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FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2574 DATE 8/14/57

CONSISTING OF 2 PAGES

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FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2575 DATE 8/14/57

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SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2547 DATE 8/15/57

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

Date: 8/15/57

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

Source NY 2039-S*

Reliability Who was in a position to furnish this information.

Date of Activity 6/2/57, SWP National Convention

The source furnished information concerning the proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held 5/31-6/2/57, at Werdermann's Hall, 160 3rd Avenue, NYC. This memorandum contains information furnished by the informant on 6/2/57.

It is noted that in many cases the informant could not furnish the identity of the speaker nor the complete text of each speech. In the latter case 3 dots were used to show omission of a word or groups of words. Where the names of individuals are followed by a question mark, these names were added to identify unknown individuals through information furnished by other informants.

A copy of this memorandum is being designated for each office having an active SWP branch for the purpose of information.

A copy is also being designated for files containing individuals mentioned; however, it should be noted that these names were furnished phonetically by the informants.

I-NY 100-4013 (7-3)

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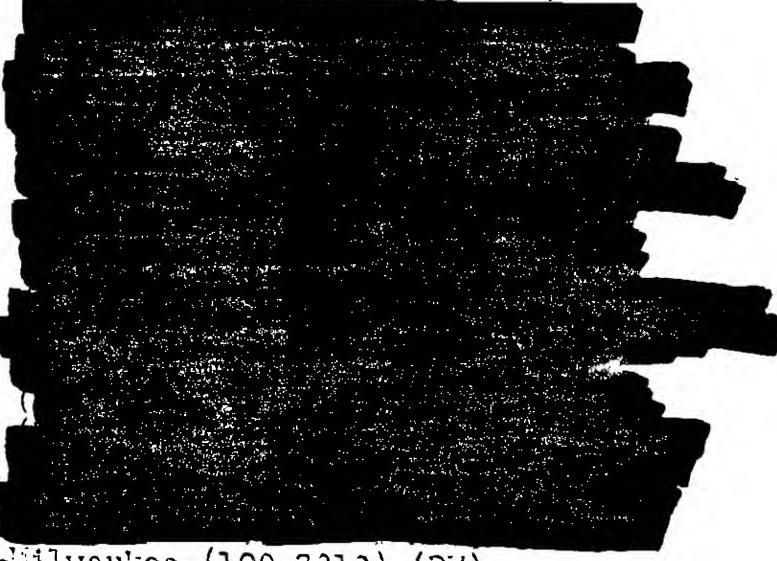
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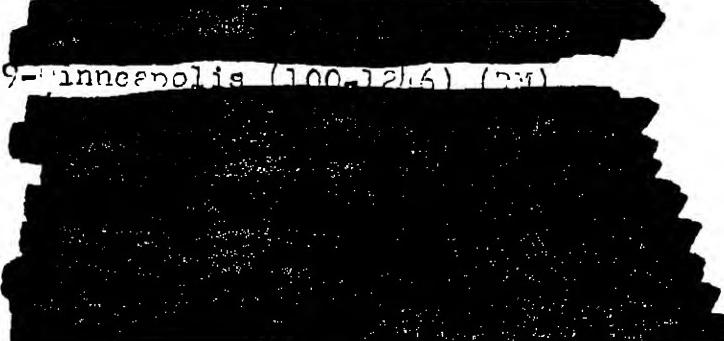
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MORRIS STEIN (?) : "Some of the delegates have presented us with the fact that they must leave this afternoon and desire to advance the election of the National Committee..... therefore,.....first, report of the Credentials Committee, second, the organization report, then the Nominating Committee report and the election of the National Committee. The discussion on the Political Committee report will take place after the election of the National Committee, that is, sometime this afternoon, and then we will have, of course, an international report."

A motion was made to accept the above proposal. It was seconded and passed.

OSCAR CLENIN (?) : "I am very pleased to present the Credentials Committee report. We have of fraternal delegates, 37. The average age is 45 and the average years in the movement is 23. Of delegates, we have 52. Average is 37 and the years in the movement 13. The alternates, we have 30. 31 is the average age, and they have 11 years in the movement. The average age of all fraternal, delegates, and alternates is 39. Thank you."

MORRIS STEIN (?) : "You have heard the comrades.....do I hear a move to accept it?"

A motion was made to accept the report and in a voice vote, the motion on the report was carried.

MORRIS STEIN (?) : "Now Mr. Kerrythe organization report."

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THOMAS KERRY: "The organization report. The resultant confusion from the.....in the CPSU.....this year....."

"The eruption of the Stalin crisis signalized by the Khrushchev revelations and the revolutionnary upheaval in Eastern Europe precipitated a Communist debacle....."

KERRY went on to say that the result of the above described crisis led to the following:

1. An increase of waste in the Soviet economy.
2. The advance of the colonial revolution.
3. The eruption of a mass movement in this country against JIM CROW.
4. The unification of American trade unions with union movements throughout the world.

KERRY continued, "The events of the past few years attest to the fact that we are today living in one of the greatest transition periods in world history." He said that all political movements were being tested in this crucial period and went on as follows:

"How has the Party met this test? To begin with, it should be noted that the primary impulse of the regroupment discussions during the crisis derived from the accelerated crisis of world Stalinism. The further.....is largely concerned with the ideological decisions that brings us the test of mass working class action..... Lacking.....essential and effective.....the radicalization of the American

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"working class. Within this framework that the.... achievements of the past year. The most significant and immediate.....of the Khrushchev revelations, was to destroy almost at one blow, that whole body of Stalinist historiography and theory, and accumulation of over 30 years rendered it null and void, rejected by Stalinist quote..... The floundering of the Stalinist movement in this country and throughout the world today are the most important questions confronting the radical movement. The two.....lacking any consistent adequate, and now of the....., and their explanations have by and largely been rejected not only by the radical movement, but by a very large section of the CP membership itself.

"The Trotskyist tendency is the only tendency in the world today with a body of literature that has met the test of historical experience and has analyzed this generation from.....

"Unfortunately, most of the old man's basic writings are out of print. And so we set ourselves, that is,.....of supplying the demand for the works of Leon Trotsky and making available this great material that constitutes a veritable arsenal of Marxist thought. We consider that one of the most primary obligations in the entire discussion that is taking place.....

".....are some of the things we have already done, and some that we propose to do and some that we hope to do. In preparation now, we have the following items: 'The Revolution Betrayed' by New Park Publications in England will be available sometime next month. In this country, we..... all the time and have already completed.....to begin the republication and should be available within the next immediate period. You are all aware that the

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"University of Michigan has announced that it is re-publishing 'The History of the Russian Resolution.' We have tried to acquire the rights of this publication. The university seemed to have an inside track, but I think in.....Pioneer will have the privilege of publishing.....but we must realize... the University of Michigan."

(Inaudible statement).

"There is in preparation in addition, 'Trotsky's Diary.' In this connection, we understand that Shachtman has received permission from Natalia to edit the diary. Now, projected for the next period, 1. The Stalinist.....all those publications are very important to us. 'In Defense of Marxism' is almost out of print. I think we have some 40 or 50 copies left and we are already beginning to make the necessary arrangements to see that this book is available. 2. 'Trotsky's Work on Germany,' a very important body of writing, a theoretical analysis of the....of the role of Stalin and the great betrayal which brought about.....for the same period. And we are considering trying to get the rights here on Trotsky's biography, 'My Life' and hopefully be able to bring that book out. In addition, already in the process of being printed is the book by Comrade Cannon, his compilation of articles, 'Notebook of an Agitator' which we have promised will be delivered in July. And we can be sure we will get some work in that period, July or August.

"Now, published since the last plenum, in December, are the following pamphlets: 'Khrushchev Revelations' (arranged by our comrades in Great Britain and brought out by New Park Publications),

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"the pamphlet on regroupment, on revolution in Hungary, on the Santana Case and on the Chinese CP and the developing revolution.

"Projected is a revised edition of the very important pamphlet 'Socialist Workers Party -- What It Is and What It Stands For.' This was one of our main pieces of literature during the entire election campaign.

"Inquiries coming into the office..... and from our mailing and television broadcasts asked what the Party is and what it stands for. Unfortunately,had been written during the long period...At the beginning of electoral activities, the Party generally began getting more inquiries about what the Party stands for so that Comrade Hansen has undertaken the chore of revising the edition which we hope to get out as soon as possible.

"Now theof demand for Trotsky's literature is a point of thefinancial condition of theParty. For the first four months of 1957, Pioneer Publishers sold approximately twice as much literature as in the first quarter of 1956 or first quarter of 1955, which shows there is an increasing demand.....not available.....cannot be supplied. The inventory on hand amounts to some 6,000 worth of books and pamphlets. Now one thing we can do, if the entire publication effort is to advance, has been a promotion a comrade makes.....a little surprised to learn what our total effort.....has been in Pioneer. In 1956, Pioneer spent \$98,000.00. In 1957, it went down \$27,000.00. We feel that if you.....recognize its aim that promotion will become an integral part of our publications and planning program and that a budget for advertising is doubtlessly too big.....for distribution of our literature. And a consistent advertising campaign in the important.....should be.....carried out.

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"Now the outstanding debt from the branches to Pioneer amounts to some \$1,345.46, enough to pay for the publication of another book if the comrades would remit promptly their....."

KERRY went on to say that the comrades had in their convention folders, a report on the SWP print shop. This included its minimum cost, the fact that it is now just sustaining, its limitations, its problems in regard to personnel, training program, etc. KERRY praised the two comrades who had taken the obligation of running the print shop, Comrade CHESTER and Comrade HAYDEN. KERRY said, "both of them, along with those who have actively helped these comrades in their spare time, or taken off whatever time they could afford from work, were able to turn out a substantial mass of Party propaganda at a very limited cost."

KERRY went on to say that the great advantage of the print shop was that it was able to print in limited quantities at a lower unit cost than obtained from commercial printers. He said that formerly many thousands of pamphlets had to be thrown away because large amounts had been printed to reduce the unit cost. Now, according to KERRY, the print shop could print 500 or 1,000 pamphlets, keep the plates, and if needed, run off another 500 or 1,000 without any difficulty.

In discussing the importance of the distribution of SWP propaganda, KERRY said, "Let us point out some statistics in connection with the regroupment campaign that we have been carrying on since..... In 1956, there were free distributions to Stalinist meetings and gatherings amounting to 40,000 copies of 'The Militant.' We tried to cover as many meetings of the CP members with the paper in the early period.

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"And it undoubtedly led, we are convinced, to helping to break down the barriers.....groping for a solution and answer to their problems in the SWP. In the great mass demonstrations around the TILL case, the Montgomery Case and the.....'The Militant' played an outstanding role."

KERRY went on to say that "The Militant" was a spearhead in getting the Party's message across to the labor movement in support of the Negro protest demonstration against JIM CROW. As an example, he said that at Washington, there were 1,500 copies of "The "Militant" sold and it was the only paper being distributed. KERRY asked, "I don't know whether you appreciate what effect that has upon members of the CP and other radical tendencies who were present there."

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KERRY continuing. The speaker discussed the Schachtmanites and of the approach to them. They approached the committee and asked for permission to distribute "labor action" and the answer was.....(no?). We support a movement defending our right to distribute literature.....hotel.....member of the committee.....approach one of our distributors and.....

Now, in addition, the 'Militant' sends out every week over 1,000 copies of the paper to our free.....list ex-members, supporters of the CP..... and I want to urge all the comrades very important that what everything we did from that to.....at what stage thewill occur. First quarter of 1957..... Same period, 1956, I didn't.....very reliable comparison. We got 290 subscriptions..... 1952 so you can say that our entire activity in the distribution and sale of the paper is engendering.....or the period when many..... changed attitude in New York.

.....pick the paper up on the newsstand in this connection. We want to give again the practice of lifting the branch into favor. Both branches want to be lifted..... a very good one.....we did not have.....

We felt this material is very important. Both from the fact it supplies information to those who want to reach the Party in that particular area and.....unnecessary..... We think we can get.....in addition to its role hereThe "Militant" plays a very significant

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(2)

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.....political blow throughout the entire world. The "Militant" goes to 36 countries in the world and.....including one subscriber, the Kremlin in Moscow.

(Laughter followed by the applause of many people).

Now we would like to see more, much more in the paper than we did, but we are confronted.....in increased cost. cost of certain distribution.....an indication of what.....and in the past year the issue of the paper increased from 195 published per month to \$1,043.00 per month, equal to a \$3,000.00 per year increase in and the other costs of putting the paper out. Now theof the "Militant" denotes \$1,100.00and liquidate. Now on the "International Socialist Review," the magazinestepchild of the party for sometime does not publish.....and it is a in that respect in view of the increased..... We propose that the magazine be shifted to Los Angeles because of the over burden of staff.....number of qualified literary.....

We feel we can put out a better magazine.....and to aid.....establishments of a monthly magazine and which we enter into

TIB:vc
..(3)

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direct competition with all of the national magazines now available and to establish a trend (?) of the "International Socialist Review" as theoutstanding theoretical magazine of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country. Now, in addition, to "ISR".....we have in recent.....labor youth.....magazine. Very good voluntary.....both in content and material.the comrades (?) in England have won over a record of very outstanding intellectuals who.....knew order.....self development.....magazine as the outstanding Russian expert for the British.club translator.....Russian worker which appeared in England.....

I insist we'll make that magazine one of the outstanding productions in the field in the entire world and will.....criteria and standard for competition which I am surecampaign and increase tempo of party activity in all fields for discussionand in both formal and informaljoint activity in penetrationsuch areas as the civil liberties struggle around.....the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.....comrades are becoming more alert.....possibility of penetrating all.....of organizations which afford for us an opportunity of further breaking downthe barrier that exists between the SWP and the members (of the CP?).....and

TIB:vc
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is
this/one of the most effective ways of doing it
not only by condemnation (?) of our point of
view and argument, but by actual participation
of our comrades in this activity.....
creates a great impression upon the members
.....and possibly.....tend to
re-establish the character of the CP and the
.....barriers that we attribute to the
.....there is one development.....

.....have occupied a large part
of the franchise system and that this very close
up other parts of the country although we
have tried because of local circumstances have
been very.....one thing that.....
of the MUSTE form his.....functions
.....construction on a national scale
I remember A. J. MUSTE in one of his presentations
stated that the object of.....is to
consider first the exemption of the.....
discussion that had been in any area of the
country known as.....which I am sure that
as a necessary function of the American form
for socialism education would be to intervene
in those places where obstacles and difficulties
have been presented up to now.....influence
on labor.....given this very important
part and at the last permanent part we took
measures to strengthen.....we have our set

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.....where we felt the burden of work on the member with our limited forces.....very important.....in some measure.

.....We were able to establish and maintain a.....out of our re-enforcements we were able to organize.....the American Youth for Socialism which has become one of the outstanding youth organizations whichactions enterprise energetic..... of the comrades who.....San Francisco, Los Angeles, from other parts of the country.....

Now we have.....breaking point and always seen new opportunities which arise out of this fact and that.....possibilities of.....and where we stand we see no possibility of.....substantial aid..... solve these problems growing.....best we might, under good circumstances, I would like to have you an answer that would be more activealso call on those.....to participate in.....a little more active in Party work.....such re-enforcements become available I am sure that they will take into consideration.....of those comradesreiterate again our 1956 campaign

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in.....all due respects. Revolutionary propaganda gives a very potentweapon in the entire regroupment structure..... local election campaign.....Detroit, San Francisco and New York, and where..... unable to accurately concentrate..... and they are very successful. Comrade..... (Here the names of several comrades were enumerated all of which were unintelligible).

.....discussion yesterday.
I am happy to report that within the last year the Party has grown (applause) and it is weak in this respect I can say..... of all the items membership (?). Now we still have..... in previous years, the budget maintained.....more strengthrecruiting and.....balance each other. In the past year we have gained two recruits.....and I want to say that at this convention we accepted another application for membership in the Party from a very fine active woman who has been working for the Partycontributing to the Party, and finally decided to (laughter and applause).

Even more important in my opinionnumber of friends, sympathizers,

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supporters around the Party developing a newfrom which we can expect a constant spark on new recruits to the Party. We have broken out of our.....and by evidence that the evidence of the Party has on external.....extend our influence to new supporters and members to the Party.....isolationism in a period of prosperity action.....where we have not yet.....
.....

The most.....of this conventionpositive translation not of the Party work.....for the future.....youth of being attracted to the most revolutionary Party.....American..... unfortunately.....foregoing this session.....lack of finance and personalintensified activities of the Party generally.....in which it would be a hardship on the.....

.....memoranda of comrade HANSON.....discussion next year..... increased financial demand put on the Party but we have got to be absolutely truthful about itproblems.....outstandingof financial.....outstanding

TIB:vc
(C)

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pledge (?) is \$1,007.00, but the pledge sustaining is at \$800.00, \$200.00 under what is pledged and.....as it is now \$2,200.00and then again.....we know increased.....(laughter) cannot extend, cannot increase on the number.....expense of the national office or organization.

.....we will make adjustments and we haveelectorally have made the decision to refuse them.....may be necessary but don't do it electorally.....the national office.....(laughter)..... deficit and I want to say this, I am convinced a member of.....appreciable and substantial increase their sustaining fundthis will help.....New York.....they cannot..... discrimination.....

Increase as much as you can your regular sustaining fund to the national office.....part of financial structureour regular monthly deficit is \$2,913.00 almost.....it seems we are running a deficit of almost \$3,000.00 per year. Now what is all.....

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Unintelligible ... THOMAS KERRY (?) One alternative is drastic, cuts all around ... but as of now we don't know how we are going to be able to avoid another fund drive in the fall. That's about the temper of ... just about broke and there will be no way that we know of other than another fund drive in ..." unintelligible "the record of our ... achievement in the past year is but the forerunner of things to come. In the (ideological) sphere the events of the past period provide brilliant confirmation of the line of development ... and continuing of a permanent revolution ... revolutionary Marxism ... great optimism for peace and an optimism firmly founded on political conviction, historical events, test of theory ... There is probably nothing more ... than some of our worthy protagonists in the current regroupment discussion then our attitude of tremendous conviction in the presentation of our views and it characterizes ... to treat political ideas seriously to clarify these ideas in the form of a revolutionary program and ... to advocate the building of a combat party, to carry that program into action, and is viewed in some quarters as the quintessence of ... in a ... form against those who took a (like minded) attitude toward building a revolutionary Socialist Party. The great arch-revolutionist JIM COWLEY wrote in the "Glasgow Socialist" July, 1949, - he said quote the Socialist Party that does not believe in themselves, which does not cherish as its dearest belief the doctrine that it and it alone is destined to carry the banner of Socialism to a triumphant issue is bound sooner or later to die of dry rot of become prey to the machinations of intrigues or the doubts of weakness. What holds true of the individual holds true of the Party. The individual only succeeds to the degree in which he believes in himself and similarly the Party whose members have the moral fibre to act up to that belief will win in adverse storms that threaten that determination and stiffen its resolve ... unquote."

"At the ... those pretentious pundits who never tire of regaling ... whose ... and lugubrious lamentations ... state of the American Socialist Movement and the futility of doing anything about it. We hold with JIM COWLEY. Now let's understand we're not just that kind of party - we are not a Liberal Party in the sense

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of being intimately linked with and leading the vanguard of the class but we just aspire to be that kind of a party. We aspire to build that kind of a party and we act in the knowledge that only that kind of a party can lift the revolution in this against the American Capitalist class.

"Our aim ... is to join those individuals and groups who are groping their way toward a revolutionary program to aid them in creating that kind of a Socialist Party that will cherish and dearly believe the doctrine that it and it alone is destined to carry the banner of Socialism to a triumphant issue and when the American workers begin to move, and move they must, I don't think they'll settle for less" applause, crowd noise, crowd noise, crowd noise, unknown male: "Take your seats please, take your seats please ... comrades we are now ready to proceed to the next point on the agenda... the report of the nominations committee will be given by comrade (HANS SLAUGHTER (PH) it is noted that this man has an accent). Comrades, if you will all be seated ... the Nominating Commission wants first to present a definite program for your consideration. Our constitution now provides you 27 regular members of the National Committee and 15 alternates. The Nominating Commission proposed that the number of alternates be increased from 15 to 20, so the constitution as amended will read "The National Committee shall be composed of 27 regular members and 20 alternates." We submit this for your consideration. We will now proceed with the report." Unknown male: "Alright comrades you have heard the proposal of the Nominating Committee. Is there any discussion? Yes, chairman, I will urge the comrades to limit themselves in their discussion ..." unknown male: "I am speaking against the motion as I understand 27 and 20 ... Alright I'll try to be brief but I would like to raise the theory to support the political question to the discussion ... Now I have noticed that we have in the party over the last few years, the last few conventions particularly this problem of sort of ... between the number of comrades in the party and the number of comrades on the National Committee. Now I am ... primarily

JFN:MCM

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concerned with no specific" - an unintelligible interruption and a voice from the crowd shouting Okay Al. ALVIN BERMAN (?) continues: "I am not primarily concerned with how many should be dropped or raised although I am speaking against this right now, this specific motion. But I am concerned about what the concept of leadership is in the party and my prime target is here. It is my hope and my desire that the party think about this specific problem. Now we come to the point of our ... we at the last convention, for instance, we were faced with a great problem of replacing alternates and delegates, making additions of 20 or so people. Now we have the problem again and we come to the same solution of not only making replacement but expanding the committee. Now I feel that this poses two specific problems in our immediate past and that is why I rise at this convention. I know that people have to make claims and so forth but I rise at this convention to point out that the period ahead of us calls for and needs the highest degree of confidence in the leadership and the highest degree of inspiration from the leadership and I say that we have a tendency here due to the whole number of objective conditions and the form that they take here organizationally. We have the tendency here, and it has been my experience to dissolve the leadership in the sense - in the sense that I remember I came into the Party when I saw a National Committee member I knew, not because he was elected ... but because of the nature of the Party and our attitude toward leadership we thought of members of the National Committee as leaders of our Party. Now I speak from experience insofar as I discussed with the comrades and being the organizer of a branch and seeing the attitude of comrades and I say we have had this problem in the Party particularly in the last few years with the comrades not looking to the National Committee members any more as their leaders. And I say this is a very important problem for the party and specifically, as I said before because of the tasks we have been turning outward ... so I am sorry why I possibly may be even ... by feeling that

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this is out of order but I feel strongly on it and as I say it is not so much a question of whether we have one out of four on the National Committee of one out of five we can't ...

"The basic thing I want to see get attention from the party is, is our National leadership a training ground or is it a leadership to inspire and to lead and gain the confidence of the ranks. I'd like the party to consider that and for that reason I am opposed to the motion." JAMES CANNON(?) "When I came to New York I did not come to ... I am not going to make any speech at this time that's what I promised. Like many other promises I can't keep it in a vacuum now is ... said it is a problem of leadership. The way he put it in my opinion is false. The leadership of the party as we see is not any sole individual which we see here and there but the institution the committee itself. Our conception of the committee as we have evolved through the years by trial and error is of the leadership that actually represents the Party. It's not one individual here and there. It's not the national secretary, or chairman, it's not the plenum and the plenum is such a broad representative body that when it gathers to meet to discuss the question to make the decision it is really a small convention. Now the test of the institution is this: Has there ever been a time in recent years when the Plenum assembled a full plenum and discussed questions and made the decisions that anybody in the Party ever challenged the authority of that decision. I say there has never been a party anywhere I believe even LENIN's party where the decision of the leadership has been more effective and universal in its influence on the ranks than it is in our party. And one of the basic meanings of that is it's broadly representative character. Now if it is working out alright what do you want to change it for? Just because you see someone here and there whom you do not think is of absolutely leadership character then the committee itself is deemed... you mustn't look at the individual you must look at the institution.

JFN:MCM

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That's one point. Now the second point is that we are recognizing that in the development of our party we have certain cadre of experienced people who have been a long time in the movement and who have great prestige and authority and they alone have to be renewed and we have looked around and seen developing in the party a number of young activists who have in our opinion not today the mature leadership qualities but the potentialities of it. How are we going to develop that best?"

WJL:bk

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JAMES CANNON (?): - - - And we've looked around and seen developing in the Party, those who don't have the capability to be leaders but have the potentiality. How are we best going to develop it? The best way is to heed the advice the "old man" once gave; bring the younger people in as alternates to participate in the discussions and listen and learn from older members. It is a part of Party training that we are always trying to bring new people into the Party . . . The committee broadens out. Maybe later we'll treat it downward.

For the present we are drawing in new people who have shown the capacity for learning . . . bring them into this high school of Party training known as the National Committee. The Committee is very strongly in favor of Comrade SWABECK'S idea . . . of the Nominating Commissions idea of broadening the alternate list in the hope that these new members will ultimately replace those of us who have been around a long time and we will have less responsibility. To give them that opportunity, we would like you to accept the proposals of the Nominating Committee.

MORRIS STEIN (?): - - - We are ready for a vote . . . all those in favor of the recommendations of the Nominating Committee please raise your cards. All those in favor . . . 18, 25 . . . all those against, one against. Voting will take place by roll call. We will take the regular members first then the alternates. I will read the nominees . . . You are asked to write out the names, but only the voted delegates should write the name as Comrade SWABECK reads them . . . only voted delegates write down the names . . . nobody else write down the names. You can understand it is for obvious security reasons we don't want any widespread publication of ballots of the composition of the National Executive Committee. I will read the names of the nominees in alphabetical order.

WJL:bk

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MILT ALVIN	SAM MARCY
JEAN SIMON	HOWAR MAYHEW
GEORGE BREITMAN	ART PREIS
ARTHUR BURCH	DAN ROBERTS
JAMES P. CANON	HENRY SCHULTZ
BOB CHESTER	DOROTHY SCHULTZ
FARRELL DOBBS	ART SHARON
V. R. DUNN	NORRIS STEIN
FRANK GRAHAM	AFNE SWABECK
VINCENT GREY	MYRA TANNER
JOE HANSEN	LARRY TRAINOR
TOM KERRY	WILLIAM F. WARDE
FRANK LOVELL	MURRAY WEISS

TED DOSTAL

MORRIS STEIN (?) : - - - We will have the roll
call of delegates

Allentown

R. FRENCH

Boston

GUSTIE DANTE
JIM JARVIS

Buffalo

CHARLES SEAMAN
MERLIN WEELEY

LOU MASON
KITTY FISHER
ROSEMARY VARDEN

Chicago

F. FRENCH (Ph.)
STEVE EIDLEY (Ph.)
J. TRAVIS
JAMES L. (ph.)

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Cleveland

BOB KINGSLEY (Ph.)
ANNA KURTZ

Detroit

ED HAMILTON
BOB COHEN
SARAH LOVELL

Los Angeles

MAE MADDING
CLYDE TURNER
PETER ALLEN
CARL FEINGOLD
THEODORE EDWARDS
TYBIE MARTIN
EVELYN REED
MILTON ALVIN
STEVE R.
MILTON SNIPPER

Milwaukee

JAMES BOULTON
AL STERGAR

Newark

S. SHAW
J. HARRIS

Manhattan Number One

ALVIN ROYCE
BERTA Z.
BOB D. HAYDEN
JOXCE COWLEY
NICK JAMES
NAT

Manhattan Number Two

DICK
PETE

WJL:bk

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Manhattan Number Two Cont'd.

HAROLD
JOHN TAEOR
KAROLYN
ANN MANN
MURRAY FORBES

Oakland

BILL MORGAN

Philadelphia

MORRIS
ETHEL SWANSON
HOWARD

Pittsburgh

BETTY

St. Louis

OSCAR CLENIN

San Francisco

RALPH MARTIN
JOAN GORDON

Seattle

FRANK POWERS
JOIN D.
ANN DORSEY
L. MC GREW (Ph.)

Twin Cities

JEAN BRUST
HENRY SCHULTZ
DOROTHY SCHULTZ
CHARLES SCHEER
HELEN SCHEER
BILL BRUST
PAUL CHELSTROM

There are no delegates from Akron and
Youngstown.

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ARNE SWABECK (?) : - - - I will read the list of the nominees. This list is of all the alternates. The first name is entered as alternate number one; the second name for alternate number two and so on down the line. I will read slowly:

1. ASHER
2. GEORGE WEISSMAN
3. HARRY RING
4. FRANCIS JAMES
5. MAI GELDMAN
6. DAVE WEISS
7. DOROTHY BREITMAN
8. DICK FRASER
9. ALLEN HANSEN
10. DOROTHY MARCY
11. JOYCE COWLEY
12. FRANK BARBARIA
13. CARL FEINGOLD
14. ART FOX
15. EDDY SHAW
16. CLARA KAYE
17. CLAUDE DE BRUCE
18. RONNIE JONES
19. DICK LOPEZ
20. BOB KINGSLEY

(Unsub male speaking) - - - Are there any additional nominees, Mr. Chairman?

THOMAS KERRY (?) : - - - I know it is an unusual procedure and generally incorrect but when a committee . . . I don't like to take the floor on an organizational question but one of these things becomes more or less vital. I would like to add one name in nominations made by the NY Comrades. The name of the leader of youth, BERT DECK, rather than have a dispute over whom

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he should replace, I ask he be added to the list of nominees as a representative of youth.

MORRIS STEIN (?): - - - Do I hear any further nominations? All right candidates, you have 21 nominees and you have 20 to be elected. I'm informed by the National Committee that if you want . . . to changed the order of the . . . alternates as presented by them, all you have to do is write right by the nominee . . . Are you ready to vote?

At this point an unsub female and then an unsub male asked unintelligible questions regarding how the nominees were selected by the National Commission.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - Well, it is up to the chairman of the Nominating Committee to answer and I think he has the right to speak.

ARNE SWABECK (?): - - - I can't give any reason, I'm just going to inform you that Comrade DECK'S name was placed in nomination like other names of those who were not selected. There were more names placed in nomination than there were alternate posts to be filled. Comrade DECK'S name was placed in nomination.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - One more question. Now I think I should have an answer in this respect whether a representative of youth is considered as a delegate to the . . .

ARNE SWABECK (?): - - - No we don't. No such proposal was placed before the commission. Nobody suggested to have a special post for the youth, and when the proposal was made to include the alternate list of 15 to 20, there were no specifications . . .

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(Unsub male speaking) - - - You want to talk?
Yes. Go ahead.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - Comrades, I just want to speak on behalf of the comrade that was just nominated, Comrade BERT DECK, I say this because the other 20 nominated came in with the weight of the committee in their behalf. In Comrade DECK'S behalf I want to say this in case other comrades are not aware of Comrade DECK, in his participation in the Party in Los Angeles, Chicago, and here in New York. This comrade has been a consistent comrade both organizationally and on theoretical level as far as I'm concerned . . . DECK'S work in Chicago demands that he be seriously considered for one of the alternate posts on the list for the National Committee.

An unsub woman makes point of procedure and a lengthy unintelligible conversation ensues.

(Unsub male speaking) - - - I hope the nominations are not closed. I had my hand up while THOMAS KERRY was speaking. My nomination is Comrade MARGE. We have in Chicago, a special problem, the problem of a leadership . . . Chicago has made contributions from its leadership to build other centers. Members of the National Committee, WALTER (ph.) GELDMAN, and others, Comrade BERT himself. But this does not help Chicago. We have had in the past period only one person on the National Committee, myself, as alternate. We have now, one additional comrade, Comrade D. We have need for people on the National Committee in Chicago who will have the opportunity to consult, to consult and grow together and this will only partially solve our problem. It is important that the comrades take into consideration the needs of Chicago and accept the nomination of Comrade MARGE. She is qualified and will move along with BERT and others.

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Unsub male makes an unintelligible speech praising the work of FRANK BARBARIA of San Francisco and requests the nomination of Comrade BARBARIA be accepted.

Unsub male says that these additional nominations are praiseworthy but eliminates the work of the National Committee.

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Unknown Male Speaking:

"...for a vote against the proposal brought in by Comrade Kerry, even though I feel that the person he recommends is perfectly qualified to be on the National Committee but I didn't want to violate the idea to do away with the idea of the Nominating Committee having a...a...has been presented, and the idea decided first..."

At this point, an unknown male interrupted by saying:

"I'd like to say just four words. The Nominating Committee is not elected to the National Committee ... (unintelligible) due to the fact there are now 22 nominations."

At this point, the Chairman's voice interrupts:

"Any further leads (phonetic). Clara Kaye."

Clara Kaye's statements follow:

"Comrade..., I'd like to place in nomination the name of Comrade Frank Fowler (phonetic) from Seattle. Comrade Frank has been in the Party for over 12 years and has been functioning in a leadership capacity in the Seattle branch for all of that time. He has succeeded in strengthening ... (unintelligible)...an organizer, a teacher...in the anti-Sullivan (phonetic) campaigns...in a completely new way. Comrade Fowler... in working out the new...with new strategy that was necessary in this situation. I think in view of the role he has played and his important work in the Party today, through this campaign, his understanding of it, his intimate knowledge of all problems that arise in the contact of work in the campaign which will be the main concern of the National Committee in all parts of the period that could

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take advantage of Comrade Fowler's knowledge, understanding of the material in this field and add him to the National Committee."

At this point, the Chairman called upon an unknown female, whose name was unintelligible. The unknown female stated:

"Well, I would first like to speak to the... as representative...without any committee. (Unintelligible). There are many new comrades present in this convention who may not be fully aware of the problems that are faced by...who try to sift (phonetic) and collect from among the many non-entities (or non-entries) that are... We are doing a task which the high caliber in our Party that the problem work themselves out not to pick, not to vie (phonetic) for our Party people but...and who can mention to our comrades...a relatively limited number in the past of leadership...and this is a tremendous problem for those delegates who sit on Nominating Committees and great many hours were put into it a specially...to all of the reports made from delegations for the nominees and every nominee who has been added to the slate (phonetic) was proposed to the commission and those were...and...not included in no way meant that the commission was not considered (?) on it, very highly qualified and material for the National Committee. But what it did mean was that of those recommended for all the various reasons, qualifications being....., representation of various kinds including other branches and so on, all of these things were very, very carefully taken into consideration and someone has...the committee.

ADL:lml
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Now, in addition to this; it is a tremendous problem of order, of the alternates, which the commission spent a great deal of time in utilizing the fairest method possible, which involves adding, actually, several hours to the thing and ...to dispense with the very source and...And it is to this that I would like to urge the progress (phonetic) to accept the proposal for the Nominating Commission as being a recommendation on very high serious judgment (?) injurious (?) to the Party."

There followed an unintelligible sentence by the Chairman, subsequent to which an unknown female voice spoke as follows:

"I'd like to speak for Dick Lopez now that additional nominees have been...Comrade Lopez has been in our group since he was a very young man who was recruited through the youth movement - I think 15 years ago. Twelve years ago he was a member of the Maritime...when that a functioning part of the pardon (?). Since that time, he has been at the focal (?) in one way or another to the Party. I believe that Comrade Lopez is definitely the type of individual that we want on the National Committee, to begin to prepare for fuller and better leadership and I would like to urge, of course, that the nominating slate be adopted as it was recommended but I want to urge the Comrades now that additional nominations have been made that Comrade Lopez should be included in the alternates."

At this point, an unknown male stated:

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"Comrades, I have found a note here from the St. Louis delegation delegate. I'm sure it will be a great honor to the members which includes a member of the Party in that Local was elected and to serve as an alternate on the National Committee, and the name of Oscar Clenin is submitted, therefore the nomination."

At this point, an unknown male requested:

"What is the name?"

He was answered by another unknown male who stated:

"Oscar Clenin, in other words we now have 24 nominees."

There followed some general talking after which an unknown male was called by name which was unintelligible. The unknown male, speaking in a foreign voice, spoke unintelligibly for several minutes and his words started a general discussion regarding the method of voting for alternates. There followed some disagreement between the Chairman and this unknown, foreign voiced, male, at the conclusion of which the Chairman stated:

"Are there any further nominations or discussion and if not is there a motion to close nomination?"

An unknown male stated:

"I'd like to speak in favor of Ronald Jones."

The Chairman stated:

"Go ahead."

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The unknown male stated:

"He is a serious young comrade, who has made every possible and conceivable sacrifice in the interest of the Party and in the interest of Trotskyism, since he has been in the Party. He is now in the process of bringing Trotskyism into the South where he is serving in the interest of the Party and building a nucleus in his area of the country that is bursting with opposition to capitalism and in every way he has been able to find down there. I urge you, comrades, to consider Ronald Jones very seriously, in relation to this most important struggle."

There followed the words of an unknown female:

"Comrade speaker, it seems to me that the way a voting of the people has been added, that its possibly now clear, order it, and then... It seems to me the only way we can do it is the way Comrade Dobbs says it. The method by dropping out the names that you wish to replace and adding the name on the bottom in the order determined by the number of votes and... (unintelligible)."

There followed an unintelligible discussion by the Chairman, subsequent to which, a vote was taken on an unknown topic and from the words of the Chairman, the vote was all ayes, and no nays.

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According to the informant, a male speaker whom he could not identify announced that the convention had unanimously agreed to proceed with the vote on the National Committee ...

MARCE DALL, Chicago
FRANK POWERS, Seattle - Accepted
OSCAR CLENIN, St. Louis - Accepted

According to the informant, a female speaker then announced the results of the vote for the National Committee. FARRELL DOBBS instructed only the delegates to take down the names of those elected to the National Committee.

ALVIN (Phonetic)	61 votes
SIMON	64 votes
BREITMAN	64 votes
BURCH	61 votes
CANNON	64 votes
CHESTER	61 votes
DOBBS	64 votes
DUNNE	64 votes
GRAHAM	63 votes
GRAY	63 votes
HANSEN	64 votes
KERRY	64 votes
LOVELL	64 votes
MARCY	63 votes
MAYHEW	62 votes
PREIS	64 votes
ROBERTS	63 votes
HENRY SCHULTZ	63 votes
DOROTHY SCHULTZ	64 votes
SHARON	63 votes
STEIN	64 votes
SWABECK	64 votes
TANNER	63 votes
TRAINOR	63 votes

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WARDE	64 votes
WEISS	64 votes
DOSTAL	63 votes

According to the informant, this constituted the committee with one vote cast for DAVID WEISS.

There was a great deal of confusion in the auditorium and according to the informant the speaker was heard to say "You have 24 names on your list. You have to cross out four names." According to the informant, the delegates were then apparently voting their ballots. The informant stated that a female whom he could not identify then announced the following names. According to the informant, the speaker was then polling the delegates:

Allentown	R. FRENCH
Boston	GUSTY DANTE (Phonetic)
Buffalo	JIM JARVIS
	CHARLES SEALAN
	MERLIN WESLEY
	KITTY FISHER
Chicago	ROSEMAREY VARDEN (Phonetic)
	F. FRENCH
	STEVE BIRDEY
Cleveland	J. TRAVIS
	J. GERALD
	BOB KINGSLEY
	ANNA KURTZ
Detroit	ED HAMILTON
	BOB COHEN
	SARAH LOVELL
Los Angeles	MAY MADDING
	CLYDE TURNER
	PETER ALLEN
	CARL FEINGOLD
	THEODORE EDWARDS
	TYDIE MARTIN

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Milwaukee	EVELYN REED MILTON ALVIN STEVE R. MILTY SNIPPER JAMES J. BOULTON AL STERGAR S. SHAW J. HARRIS
Newark	

Manhattan Branch #1

ALVIN ROYCE
BERTA Z.
BOB D.
HAYDEN?
JOYCE COWLEY
NICK JAMES
NAT

Manhattan Branch #2

DICK
PETE
HAROLD
JOHN T.
MURRAY FORBES
KAROLYN
ANNA M.

Oakland	BILL MORGAN
Philadelphia	MORRIS
Pittsburgh	ETHEL SWANSON
St. Louis	HOWARD
San Francisco	BETTY
Seattle.	OSCAR CLEMIN
	RALPH MARTIN
	JOAN JORDAN
	FRANK POWERS

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Twin Cities

JOHN D.
ANN DORSEY
L. MC GREW
JEAN BRUST
HENRY SCHULTZ
DOROTHY SCHULTZ
CHARLES SCHEER
HELEN SCHEER
BILL BRUST
PAUL CHELSTROM

According to the informant, a speaker announced that the next election would be that of the Control Commission. Mr. STEIN spoke and said the following names were placed in nomination for the Control Commission:

REBA AUBREY
ANNE CHESTER
DUNCAN FERGUSON
ROSE KARSNER

According to the informant, a woman whom he could not identify then repeated a poll of the delegation previously mentioned. There was a great deal of noise and confusion on the floor and the comrades were told by the chairman to have a rest while the votes were counted.

According to the informant, after an hour and a half of rest the convention was called to order by a male speaker. The speaker announced the schedule for that afternoon and stated that the convention would resume discussion on the organization report, have an information report on the world movement and then a speech by Comrade CANNON.

The informant stated that the speaker

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announced the following four individuals were elected to the Control Commission:

REBA AUBREY	64 votes
CHESTER	63 votes
FERGUSON	62 votes
KARSNER	62 votes

The informant then stated that the following was a result of a vote on the alternate members of the National Committee in order of the strongest vote:

ART FOX	64 votes
ASHER	62 votes
GEORGE WEISSMAN	62 votes
JOYCE COWLEY	62 votes
BARBARIA	62 votes
HARRY RING	60 votes
JANE	60 votes
DOROTHY MARCY	60 votes
ED SHAW	59 votes
CARL FEINGOLD	59 votes
DOROTHY BREITMAN	58 votes
MAX GELDMAN	57 votes
DAVE WEISS	56 votes
DICK FRASER	55 votes
FRANCIS JAMES	55 votes
BRUCE	54 votes
HANSON	53 votes
LOPEZ	52 votes
CLARA KAYE	48 votes
BOB KINGSLEY	48 votes

According to the informant, the above individuals were those elected. The informant stated that the below listed individuals failed to be elected:

BERT DECK	32 votes
MARGE BALL	19 votes
CLENIN	12 votes
POWERS	9 votes

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The informant stated that the speaker announced that there were a number of tie votes, four names had 62 votes, three names sixty votes and two names 59 votes.

The informant related that MORRIS STEIN made a motion from the floor to the effect where there are ties the National Committee be guided by the vote of the Nominating Commission for vacancies as they occurred on the National Committee. This motion was passed. The speaker then announced that TOM KERRY would make announcements.

The informant related that KERRY read a greeting to the delegates of the 17th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to NATALIA TROTSKY. KERRY also mentioned MORTON SOBELL who was arrested during the witchhunt and pledged to aid SOBELL's case in the future. According to the informant, this resolution was favored by the comrades.

KERRY also spoke on JAMES KUTCHERS' victory and his eight year struggle against the Government. The informant related that a tremendous burst of applause emanated from the delegates at this time.

According to the informant, the next speaker was a female, he could not identify, from Seattle. The gist of her speech, according to the informant, was to perfect and alter old SWP techniques with regard to contact work with Communist workers. The speaker urged comrades to go out and recruit CP members whom she considered to be the strongest type professional revolutionaries and good for the SWP.

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Unidentified female ended her talk.
Unintelligible.

Unidentified male discussed education and training of young comrades and told of the difficulties encountered in the Trotsky School. He mentioned three specific difficulties facing the comrades today. They were one, intensified activity of the comrades of this party---regroupment problems, two, finances, three, problem of instruction.

He spoke concerning the need for party people to actively participate in party activity.

Unidentified male speaker spoke concerning the importance of "The Militant" and with the work that has been done with respect to the CP. This individual told of the efforts being made to sell "The Militant" and told of how comrades would ring doorbells, and try to get people interested in the Militant; that they would follow these visits up with telephone calls or with more visits and would make every effort to interest people in the program of the SWP. He stated that the party attempted to contact CP members and CP sympathizers in connection with this drive.

Unidentified female speaker spoke of arranging to have "The Militant" and other publications sent directly to news stands from New York. She stated that Pioneer Publishers are putting out a new catalog of all books published by them and all books available on revolutionary Socialism that were put out by their publishers.

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Unidentified male speaker spoke on recruitment in the Los Angeles area. He stated that Los Angeles during the past year recruited 15 individuals into the SWP, devided in the following manner:

Eight from the CP
Two from the State Committee of Young Democrats
One from the SP
One steel worker
One pile driver
One communications worker
One Unitarian Church

Unidentified male voice made reference to page 30 of the resolution on the Negro question. He stated that there was a paragraph that "a specific recommendation that a planned program of the history of the Negro struggle and the working class as a---inaudible--laughter.

Unidentified male speaker spoke very briefly.
Inaudible.

Unidentified male speaker presented the international report. He told of the history of the Trotsky movement and told of SWP gains made since the 20th Congress. This individual spoke very rapidly and had a British or Canadian accent. He said that since the 20th Congress the PABLOITES have turned toward the SWP and away from the Stalinists. The Political Committee believes that the regroupment of international socialism may make alliance with the PABLOITES possible. This can come about only if it appears such a united movement in the best way to fight Stalinism. The PABLOITES have said they are willing to make big concessions prior to the holding of any united World Congress (of the Fourth International).

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Address by Comrade CANNON:

I can't make an address because I promised there would be no speeches from me at the convention. (laughter) I've taken the floor during the discussion on the Negro question-----no speech; I've "taken" the floor briefly here today and answered Comrade ALVIN(Phonetic)-----no speech---laughter.

I've seen many conventions in my time, as a matter of fact the only convention of our movement since 1919 that I've ever missed, once while I was in Moscow - during CP days and once while I was (unintelligible) prison in 1944.

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...express a judgement. A convention has to be led by how it feels with the task of the hour. Whether it misses concentration on the important task, wears itself out with discussion of secondary or remote questions, whether it gets down to business and deals with the problems before it. I think this convention just by this criterium can pass favorable comparison with any in the history of our movement.

The task of this convention obviously was set by the conditions of the times. The problem of analysing the process of regroupment which we have been engaged in, Deciding if we have come to the end or are only at the beginning. That's one point -- point two is the elaboration of a positive program for the next stage of our struggle in the regroupment of the revolutionary forces in a new revolutionary party. We are doing better in the regroupment movement than anybody else, than any other tendency, there is no question about that -- that no other tendency is doing any good for itself at all. That we are doing better because we know what we are about and we understand why we are talking about regroupment. It is not a new question. Every new beginning, out of every crisis that arises from the bankruptcy of new movements, every new beginning that's taken the form of a regroupment of old forces, we know that from the past. And we thought that it would be the same this time and that is why in the very beginning of this discussion we formulated our command not from the simple slogan "Join the Socialist Workers Party" and end everything quickly with the regroupment of revolutionary forces from all organizations and all sources. We didn't say merely a regroupment of revolutionary workers out of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, we put it very broadly as I did in my speech on the Khrushchev revolutions in Los Angeles. There was a varied audience there and I called for discussion and establishment of fraternal relations between all radical workers, the reestablishment of old fashioned open forums where we could discuss freely and fraternally and where we can work towards regroupment of forces in a new organization.

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There were a couple of young girls there from the Socialist Party and one of them in the question period asked, "Can you spell out what you mean by regroupment -- regroupment of who, of what?". I said, "No, at this time that's an algebraic formula. A little later we'll write the arithmetic when we see what happens as a result of the discussions." I tell you -- little did I know then when I formulated it algebraically and I said we'll look around and see where we're going to get people for the new regroupment, little did I dream that some of the most important forces were going to come from the most unlikely source of all this -- miserable little Socialist democratic bum clique of HACHTMAN and (inaudible), but that is what has really happened in the course of the discussion, the turmoil and the crushes (phonetic). I said regroupment is not new -- you know the Socialist Party itself which took shape in 1901 did not arise full blown from an old ... (party?) and it did not arise as such people as COCHRAN and others prophesy now -- STAROBIN, is that the name? -- and the others are all saying, the people who are going to make the new movement are the people who have quit all the old organizations. That is ^{not} the way it happened in 1901. In 1901 there was a regroupment of parties and organizations in the groups consisting of a former faction of the Socialist Labor Party... (inaudible).

There was the Socialist Democratic Party of DEBS and BERGER in Chicago. There were all kinds of local groups calling themselves Socialists and readers of the ".... Reader" and when the convention was called together it represented a real regroupment and it didn't take place all at once. There were several years of discussions, open forums, controversies, arguments, fraternizations, quarreling, reuniting and negotiating until 19-- (inaudible). They formed the Socialist Party of America, the party which they say was the party of DEBS, but which was also the party of NEWCRID and BURKE (phonetic). Now this party suffered shipwreck in 1917, because it was not sufficiently equipped in matters of programs and tradition and (inaudible).

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Ridiculous! Wasn't equipped to face the problems of war and revolution! And what in the hell is the Socialist Party good for if it can't face the problems of war and revolution. That's the road to Socialism! It suffered shipwreck and a new party emerged beginning in 1917 with a Russian revolution and culminating in 1919 with the formation of the CP. That was a new organization formed.

That wasn't a pure, simple, one-party proposition -- in this party was such elements as the new Left-Wing in the Socialist Party which had responded to the Russian revolution and the war. There was a considerable section of pride (inaudible) and yet you may think a considerable section of the cadres came out of the Socialist Labor Party the ossified sectarian Socialist Labor Party of the people. As a matter of fact, the young man who played the biggest role in shaping the ideology of the Young Communist movement in this country, LOUIS FRAINA, (phonetic) was a former member of the SLP. There were people being from the IWW went in against political action and political parties prior to the Russian revolution and there were now the party trade unions and these coming together made a regroupment in 1917 to form the CP. So when we talk about a regroupment it is not as superficial/people might say. A diplomatic formula that all we want is a cover to get a hold of two or three recruits here and there, grab them and run with them. No! That is not our idea. Our idea is a real regroupment of many people in a party the name or form of which we will leave for future determination.

Now I said this convention had to consider the question of whether we have finished our campaign on regroupment or only decided to really begin it and the decision has been made that it is really going to begin now and be carried out in full scale. Full scale campaign for the regroupment of all the revolutionary forces of this country in whatever organization they may be at present,

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or wherever they may develop in the next few years into one single department. Regroupment is a process. It doesn't simply mean a few organizations or individuals getting together and making a formal agreement -- that's not possible now! It's a process that includes a struggle of tendencies, because as we see it, the party we are aiming to create out of this process is not going to be a hodgepodge, but a party with a program, and that'll take time. It includes a struggle of tendencies and on the whole the unification includes splits.

I'm sorry or glad whichever way you want to take the thing, that in one of the casualties of this inexorable process of regrouping the revolutionary forces apparently is going to be a split in the SHACHTMANITE control -- not because we asked for it, no -- but because they insist on it, -- they're forcing it! I know that the left wing of the SHACHTMANITE organization insists with good faith that "we want unity of the ISL, we want unity and we mean it, but we don't want you to deprive us of our Democratic rights to denounce ..." (speaker dropped something) "that's what comes from getting toolame and old" (laughter) (speaker continues) "and it appears that the right wing of the SHACHTMANITE organization is going to force them to a split, and, that will not be a calamity if it happens, although as I say, neither we advocate it or do they, nor does the left wing of the SHACHTMANITE organization, because it will be a split on only one side of the question. The other side will be a unification with the youth supporting the SWP, and nowhere and never in the history of the workers movement since the time of MARX and ENGELS has the development of the revolutionary political party taken place in any other way except by unifications and splits and it's absolutely ridiculous to have a sentimental attitude on one side or the other....

Boldness...(inaudible) TROTSKY once said are parts of the process of building the revolutionary party. Out of the regroupment, as part of the regroupment process, we include a struggle of tendencies as I said against

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STALINISTS. Every time we deal another blow of polemics in our paper against him the intents of the CP, we're dealing a blow to the unity of the revolutionary world and similarly the ~~S HACHTMANITES~~ the Social Democrats, the Labor papers and others. Now I think we are justified in saying, on the basis of our survey of the situation, in which we try to see things as they are, and not as we would like them to be, that the first results of the year's discussion and controversy that has followed the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, has been a shift in relations within these general radical movements in favor of the tendency we represent, ... in favor of the SWP. And its taking place in two ways: one, by an enormous weakening ~~of the CP~~ ^{and the CP is the crookedest} and the most treacherous party this country has ever known, -- and every weakening that it suffers is a gain for the revolutionary labor movement and for the future of Socialism in this country. But we didn't gain only negatively we gained positively!

As you've heard the reports that we've recruited friends and sympathizers whom we've not asked to join the SWP and leave the CP, but whom we have urged to struggle within the CP for a Leninist program and prepare a broader basis of elements for future regroupment with us. The Social Democrat, as such, I can't say much about. Not only because I don't know much about them, but because nobody else does, and the reason nobody else knows much about this Spsd is that a diligent search of the country from coast to coast has not uncovered any real trace of their actual existence (laughter). I have begun to think that they are a figment of ~~S HACHTMAN'S~~ imagination -- except possibly in some backroom somewhere where some antediluvian ~~s o c i a l~~ democrats sit waiting and wondering when the (inaudible) Gonna forgive them for their sins and take them back into the real Social Democratic fold -- so, they don't count! ~~S HACHTMANITES~~ counted a little bit, but they're trying their very best to obliterate that. I have never seen a politician in all my life try to bargain more frantically

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and with greater whisk (phonetic) (sic) with more twitch (great laughter) to hasten his own ugliness (?). SHACHTMAN has got his own people all worked up in a lather about joining this mythical SPSDF before he got permission from the SPSDF to enter and, just the other day, they had a meeting of the national executive committee of the so called SPSDF, or whatever it is, and while they had one motion ordering their own so called left wing to quit the MUSTE forum for free speech (sic) or stand expelled, they have had another motion forbidding any of their members to have any kind of joint political actions with the SHACHTMANITE organizations. Not only did they fail to vote to admit them into the sacred portals of the dying Social Democracy, they refused to have anything to do with them. And SHACHTMAN in the meantime got his people all worked up into a sweat and fever of enthusiasm to jump into a place, a door, that isn't open (laughter).

And I thought from talking from some Comrades (sic) there has been created a new personification of a type politics -- there is the politics of MARX, principles of politics, there is the politics of BERNSTEIN (phonetic), opportunists politics, there is the politics of maneuverism, that's the Zenobian politics, then there is the politics of the blank alley and that's SHACHTMAN politics! Now, one minor subsection of a subdivision, of the radical movement consists of people who belong neither to the Socialists Party, nor the CP, nor the SWP, nor the SHACHTMANITES nor the SLP nor nothin' (laughter) and they publish a little magazine that(inaudible) and they have propounded the remarkable theory that the way to build socialism in this country is to begin with all those people, not as we are with people who are active in various organizations and thereby testifying as to their seriousness, but recruit everybody who has quit any organization that exists. A unification of deserters, they say, will build an army of marchers (or Marxists) with which to storm American capitalism. I never heard of that happening before!

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I don't think quitters can reach anything and as a matter of practical text I have served in the past under the impact of the Palmer raids and the moral persecutions following 1917, when thousands of Communists and Socialist party members and IWW's were up against the gun, or imprisoned or were being deported and were standing ... (inaudible) a half to two thirds of the Socialist party disappeared.

And, after we came out of that ordeal, and by 1923, had reestablished an illegal CP and begun to wonder where we were going to get our recruits from to build new forces, we all had the illusion ^{out of} of the 60,000, my goodness maybe we ought to recruit 30,000 of them back. I was a particular advocate of that idea, and I wrote enthusiastic articles about it in the "Daily Worker," no, the "Weekly Worker" that proceeded it, that we had collapsed. Then, when we all got the illusion again, we went on a campaign scouring the highways, beating the bushes, to bring back in force those who had deserted. Of course not even we, in our young folly, ever thought they were going to come in to lead the movement. They might join and pay their dues -- throw a dollar in the hat -- what we got out of those who had deserted was negligible. The people who built the young Communist party, were first those who had remained and stood by the organization and they, the new recruits, were mostly the young, the undefeated, the untired, the undisillusioned -- that's what's going to happen in the future too, and we haven't the slightest reason to think seriously that so-called half tendency or no organization, no banner, no program, nothing but an imagination. I don't think that we have to fear them as a serious ideological opponent. Now our policy is to build a party. We make no secret about it. When we say regroupment we don't mean to gather everybody together... (inaudible) gather them together in party! That's what we say! But we say, at the same time, it does not necessarily have to be the SWP. And that's not a diplomatic formula.

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We have no fetish of names of organizations. As Comrade DORRIS pointed out in his report, twice before in our history we've given up the name we were operating under -- made a fusion with the American Workers' Party and formed a new party. Again, later, when things opened on a different front and the left wing showed up in the Socialist party we disbanded our party and went in and joined them in order to establish contact with the left wing in the SP, and together with them, a year or so later, we formed the present SWP. We say we have no fetishism whatever and we're deceiving no one. But, we also say no liquidationism, nobody's going to get us to disband our party, waiting for somebody else to create a party, later on, that we may join under the leadership of somebody who has not yet made his appearance or has not yet been discovered like Moses in the bullrushes. (Laughter) We want to know where we're going and with whom! And, by the way, when it comes to getting together with certain people with pretensions for the leadership we're certainly willing to say we'll share leadership or we'll even surrender leadership to superior forces than ours in capacities, but all we want to know is who is this, where have you been, what are your credentials? -- And, if all you've got to show is a withdrawal ticket from something or other -- that's not good enough, that's not enough! (Laughter) I'm afraid that's all we're going to find from these credentials. We're for fusion, but I don't think that's any reason why people should demand that in the course of the fusion if somebody knocks on our door three times and says let me in -- we should refuse him and tell him to stand on the doorstep until we've met enough people to form a new party for you? No! We are recruiting as we go along. The funny part of it is while we've advocated fusion and regroupment in good faith, we've recruited more people than for a long, long time and that's a great source of satisfaction to us too. Recruiting many activists, many sincere and devoted people who are finding in our party the best expression for their Socialist aspirations. And the years result has been one of expanding influence as well as membership and as well as . . . (inaudible).

RJQ:dlo

- 9 -

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Now the next stage. (addresses attendant)
Can I have some water? As I get to this point I get
too warmed up. I didn't mean by that that I'm getting
ready to go into an extended speech -- just some more
remarks and I'll be done.

HAH:mc
(1)

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JAMES CANNON (?)

The next case for our leaders as we discussed it in the National Committee is we are going to sharpen our particular political line as our contribution to the recruitment plan, not that we are trying to find means of splitting things up but to sharpen our . . . and political line in order to make the program clear. We are going to begin to dig in enough in the next period . . . Daily Worker the development in this newspaper of the capitulation of the "Gatesites"; the manifest slipping of the Communist Party back into the monolithic mood of Stalinism and to give it a drumfire criticism that will shake loose a great many more workers in the Communist Party legions.

But criticism and . . . are not the only thing. Supplementing that, is our positive program of workers democracy. That is the second big congregation (phonetic) of our convention that it has endorsed the program of mind and Comrade DOERS (phonetic) report that we should develop extensive propaganda and agitation for workers democracy and aim it against not only Stalinists but also the social democrats, the labor fakers and the ruling class of this country, and to counterpose to everyone the real program of workers democracy to their false and hypocritical and deceptive definition. Positive program of workers democracy with us begins in the party itself, workers democracy as we are going to lay it down in the . . . in the . . . of the organization, in the state that will be established under the workers rule. Democracy is a very easy word to say and a very hard thing to implement, and it is

HAH:mrg
(2)

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very easy to give formal democracy as a suppressive in practice. You haven't seen any trace of that here. In this convention I believe we can all take satisfaction that not only have we had the form of democracy in our extended three day discussions but we have had the very essence of it. How you can recall especially bureaucrats know, all the social democrats know, the Stalinists know, that you can grant formal democratic rights to the delegates in the convention as in the membership branch and yet at the same time when the rank and file delegate gets up and makes a criticism you can throw at him the ridicule and the slander and the innuendos of the top brass and make a monkey out of him and afraid to raise his voice a second time. That's the way they do it. Here I would say say that in this convention if there has been a single violation of the formalities of correct social deportment to date not one of them came from the leaders of the party. Not a single one who spoke at this convention was given any reason to feel whatever that he would be ridiculed or denounced or misrepresented or slandered, and I say it should be a great pride to us. Naturally, the way this convention has been conducted should be the model for the party life all the way down through the branches every time and should be taken as an example to the local leaders as to how they shall deal with their own affairs with the rank and file members of the party who might get up and without sufficient experience and while speaking on the floor, might make some criticisms which are unwelcomed and which could be easily reputed and twisted and ridiculed until there is nothing left of the poor devil who ventured to open his mouth.

HAH:mg

(3)

NY 100-4013

It can be done but I believe the example here is that contrary to that the leaders of our local organizations everywhere will create such an atmosphere of free and unhampered democracy that every rank and file member will feel that it is his own party where he can express himself freely without any fear whatsoever.

That isn't the way they do it in other parties. At least talk to some of these left wing youth how they get treated in the Schactmanite organization when they stand up to say they're opposed to liquidating their organization into the Social Democratic Federation and they want to maintain it as a revolutionary independent youth organization. Do they get a ... and friendly and competent answer - No. They are ridiculed. They get denunciation and they're splintered and slandered - "Your nothing but a bunch of . . . , " they get all kinds of accusations hurled against them to prevent them from getting a hearing for their political positions, and all this comes under the heading of democracy, social democratic model. Now, how do they do things in the trade unions? A big trade union favors and makes a big show in public of being against the Soviet Union for one particular reason, - it is not democratic and therefore all the way from BECK to REUTHER it's democracy against dictatorship. But in the essence of the matter there is not one per cent of democracy in the trade union movement of the United States, as you know. And that is one reason why the slogan of the workers democracy has got to be carried into the trade unions and made the spearhead of the campaign to overthrow it.

HAH:mg
(4)

NY 100-4023

In BECK's union, of course, they don't make any pretense at all, why should a guy open his mouth, a couple of goons take care of him. A local out in Oakland, California is running around getting radical, making better contracts with the bosses then they want them to, put them under receivership.

Do you know one third of the locals in the Teamsters Union don't even have the right to elect their own local officials. They're under receivership and the officials can't even hold meetings until the receiverships are dismissed. That's the kind of democracy in BECK's union.

Now from BECK's Union to . . . but there is a tie between them. They're both purists (phonetic) and both servants in the labor movement in the interest of American imperialists but REUTHER makes a great show of formal democracy. He's a former social democrat himself and they have conventions and you have a right to speak at the convention but what happened at the last convention? At the last convention of the UAW the brass sat on the platform, behind the walls of misery (phonetic) of dollars in the treasury and all the supporters above against the rank and file and behind that the support of the government if necessary. Some comrade got up to protest against the speedup, a woman, got up to protest against the speedup and to demand that the officials do more to discourage the murderous spedup - a girl from Local Three, the Dodge local - what did they do? With all that amassed power of the bureaucracy on the platform REUTHER takes the floor for a blast in which he denounced by name this girl who had stood up and

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spoken so respectfully. And with that a lynch (phonetic) spirit which would make a delegate afraid to open his mouth. We ought to consider it as a symbol of the beginning of the struggle for workers democracy in this country. A symbol and a prophesy of what is to come. The girl who stood up and challenged that bureaucratic machine at the UAW convention was our girl EDIE FOX (phonetic). I say that was a symbol and a prophesy and the time will come when there will be tens and hundreds and thousands of them and out of their efforts and out of the help that the party will give them in direction we will change things. You can't overthrow this capitalist society in the United States until you first knock out its principle prop and the principle prop of capitalism in this country is the trade union bureaucracy. And when they say to us you . . . we say yes, we want democracy but we want democracy all the way from Moscow to the . . . because that is where the danger lies. And out of the fight to overthrow this bureaucracy with the power to . . . workers democracy which will be the battering ram of our fight in the coming days, the overthrow of capitalism will be an easy thing after that because the capitalist class itself is very small and very weak and without its labor lieutenants will never be able to stand very much and will not long survive after we win the battle of workers democracy. In the great movement we will not settle up merely for that, we'll not settle merely for better conditions or for more wages, we the members of the Socialist Workers Party and the thousands and the millions that will come with us later will settle for nothing less than socialism, that is the goal and the vision of the party that

MAH:mg
(6)

NY 100-4013

is represented in this hall in this historic convention. This is the vision that gave us strength in adversity and gives us inspiration and strength again now in a new period of expanding opportunity. In one of the greatest books ever written JACK LONDON's "Iron Hero" (phonetic) he described the terrible things that happened in the future that he had . . . and the revolution had been defeated and the hero of the novel who apparently had been killed just before he hid the manuscript, the great novel ends with an un-completed sentence which reads as follows:

The magnitude of the task, ...
and there it ends. I say it is for us to take that and recognize there is a magnitude of the task and we must not deceive ourselves colleagues but let us complete the sentence of the hero of JACK LONDON's novel and say the magnitude of the task and the grandeur of the future. End of speech - long applause.

Unsub male speaks:

Comrades there is now a special announcement from the presiding committee.

Unsub male speaks:

Comrades since the last convention we record with sorrow the names of the following fallen comrades :

JOHN G. WRIGHT

CALVIN DE CRESCENZO

HAH:mg
(7)

NY 100-4013

JACK BRUCE

SAMMY KLOTSKY (Phonetic)

CHESTER K. JOHNSON (Phonetic)

LEWIS BORDEN (Phonetic)

RAYMOND SHEPPARD

JOHN KATSIKAS.

These are heavy losses, comrades who have fallen who were dear to us and were valiant fighters in our ranks. Let us salute their memory with a moment of brief silence. Will the convention stand - (Silence) Same unsub male - We will now sing "The Internationale"

"The Internationale" sang by bulk of convention.

Unsub male - The convention stands adjourned.

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2579 DATE 8/16/57

CONSISTING OF 3 PAGES, ALL OF

WHICH ARE

Mar

~~are~~ exempt from disclosure, in ~~as~~ entirely, under (b)(7)(D) as information contained in this serial would identify an informant to whom an expressed promise of confidentiality has been given. This information includes dates and places of meetings which were attended by a limited number of people known to the informant and/or information from these meetings and situations in which an informant was in close contact with members of these organizations, disclosure of which would reveal his identity.

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2579A DATE 9/16/57

CONSISTING OF 3 PAGES, ALL

OF WHICH

All ~~is~~ ^{the} exempt from disclosure, in ~~its~~ entirety,
under (b)(1) as it has been classified pursuant
to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
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Officers number 2040.

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2580 DATE 8/19/57

CONSISTING OF 5 PAGES OF

WHICH PAGES 2 AND 3

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meetings and situations in which an informant
was in close contact with members of these
organizations, disclosure of which would reveal
his identity.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL
EX-107111

REPORTING OFFICE PHOENIX	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE AUG 19 1957	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/1, 2, 5, 8, 9/57
TITLE OF CASE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE, 1953.		REPORT MADE BY SA CALVIN W. EVANS	TYPED BY WDC
CHARACTER OF CASE		INTERNAL SECURITY - C INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1940	

SYNOPSIS:

The main activity on the part of the SOBELL case has been the showing in June, 1957, of the film in the MORTON-SOBELL case entitled "Was Justice Done" and playing of the record commentator.

SOBELL meeting held 2/21/57, at Tucson, to show slides and to read a manuscript on the SOBELL case.

b7D

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING.

SLIP (S) OF ~~CLASSIFIED~~
DATE ~~FS/les~~ 02/17/78

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:			
6 - Bureau (100-387835) (REGIS) 1 - ONI, San Diego (REGISTERED) 1 - OSI, Kirtland Air Force Base (REGIS) 1 - CIC, Los Angeles ② New York (100-10711) (REGIS) 2 - Phoenix (100-4333)		100-107111-2580	
		SEARCHED <i>no</i> INDEXED <i>no</i> SERIALIZED <i>no</i> FILED <i>no</i>	
		23 AUG 1957 FBI - NEW YORK <i>Shenckan/BP</i>	

DECLASSIFIED BY *4913 AF/das*
ON *2/16/78*

CONFIDENTIAL

Act # 610-107111-2580

PK 100-4333

On [REDACTED] showed the film on the MORTON-SOBELL case entitled "Was Justice Done" to [REDACTED] at [REDACTED]. The MORTON-SOBELL film ran for approximately one hour and consisted of still pictures of SOBELL, his family, various shots of Alcatraz, and other items of his life. The film played up prominent people, such as Senator LANGER and Professor UREY, who had voiced opinions in SOBELL's favor.

b7D

PI 100-4333

On February 21, 1957, a meeting of the Tucson Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON-SOBELL was held at 2348 East Drachman, Tucson, Arizona. Approximately 19 persons attended.

[redacted] gave a talk and stated she hoped they were all as angry as she was and as convinced that SOBELL was innocent. She also hoped that the meeting would be just the beginning for all of them to give money to fight to get SOBELL out of Alcatraz. Slides were then shown on a screen and a manuscript was read. Those told about SOBELL from the time he was six years of age; how JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG were innocent.

b7D

I-7 (4/2/57)

a self-confessed member of the Communist Party.

[redacted] identified a photograph of RUTH ROSENTHAL, nee EISENBERG.

[redacted] knew RUTH ROSENTHAL as a member of the Communist Party in Miami Beach.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Phoenix, Arizona
AUG 19 1957

National Committee to Secure
Justice in the Rosenberg Case, was.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C;
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1940

Confidential informants identified in the report of
SA CALVIN W. EVANS, Phoenix, Arizona, dated AUG 19 1957, as T-1, 2,
3, 4, 5, 6, 7 have furnished reliable information in the past.

100-10711-2581

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
AUG 22 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: AUG 19 1957

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE
 JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE, was.;
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C;
 INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1940

Enclosed herewith is report of S. CALVIN W. EVANS, Phoenix,
 Arizona, dated AUG 19 1957.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed
 and "T" symbols were utilized in the report only in those
 instances where identities of the sources must be concealed.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date (or description) of Meeting and/or Activity	Type of Report and Agent Receiving	File & Serial Where Located
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T-1, [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

100-4333-1a(78)
100-4333-264

b7D

b7D [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (100-387835)(REGIS)
 - (2) - New York (100-10711)(REGIS)
 - 2 - Phoenix (100-4333)
- CWE:mdc
(6)

100-19711-2582

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 20 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Shenidan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PI 100-4333

Identity of Source	Date (or Description) of Meeting and/or Activity	Type of Report and Agent Receiving	File & Serial Where Located
T-2, [REDACTED] <i>b7D</i>	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	100-4333-284 [REDACTED]
T-3, [REDACTED] <i>b7D</i>	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
T-4, [REDACTED] T-5, [REDACTED] T-6, [REDACTED] T-7, [REDACTED]	[REDACTED] Characterization of MINNIE PAPPAS	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED] <i>b7D</i>

LEADS

THE PHOENIX OFFICE

AT PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Will follow and report the activities of the SOBELL Committee in Phoenix and Tucson.

REFERENCES

Report of SA CALVIN W. EVANS, dated 2/14/57, at Phoenix, Arizona

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2593 **DATE** 7/20/57

CONSISTING OF 3 **PAGES**

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety, under (b)(7)(D) as information contained in this serial would identify an informant to whom an expressed promise of confidentiality has been given. This information includes dates and places of meetings which were attended by a limited number of people known to the informant and/or information from these meetings and situations in which an informant was in close contact with members of these organizations, disclosure of which would reveal his identity.

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2584 DATE 8/20/57

CONSISTING OF 1 PAGES

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to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number 2040.

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2585 **DATE** 8/21/57

CONSISTING OF 2 **PAGES**

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FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2586 DATE 8/21/57

CONSISTING OF 2 PAGES

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to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number [REDACTED]

JAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

8/21/57

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-10799)
CP USA
FUNDS
IS --C
CINAL

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] reliable, on 8/19/57, advised that meeting of Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL, aka, held at San Diego, on 8/18/57, approximately seventyfive persons were in attendance. Speaker was DAN MARSHALL, Los Angeles Attorney, and CSJMS National Co-Chairman. Admission was \$1.00 per person. In addition, collection in unknown amount was taken up. CSJMS formed to obtain funds to secure new trial or release of SOBELL, convicted of conspiracy, to commit espionage on behalf of Soviet Union, 3/29/51.

b7d

- 3 - Director, FBI (AM REGISTERED)
- ① - New York (AM REGISTERED) (100-107111)
- 1 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED) (100-41648)
- 1 - San Diego

PVS:wac
(6)

100-107111-2587

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
FBI - SAN DIEGO
AUG 21 1957
FBI - SAN DIEGO
7-2

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2588 DATE 8/21/57

CONSISTING OF 3 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety, under (b)(7)(D) as information contained in this serial would identify an informant to whom an expressed promise of confidentiality has been given. This information includes dates and places of meetings which were attended by a limited number of people known to the informant and/or information from these meetings and situations in which an informant was in close contact with members of these organizations, disclosure of which would reveal his identity.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BOSTON (100-442)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

DATE: 8/21/57

Source NY 2039-S*
Reliability Who was in a position to furnish
this information.
Date of Activity 6/1/57, SWP National Convention

- 1 - Boston (100-442) (RM)
2 - Buffalo (100-6516) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
2 - Chicago (65-645) (RM) (1 - [REDACTED]) b7C
3 - Cleveland (100-1012) (RM) (1 - [REDACTED]) b7C
3 - Detroit (100-1334) (RM) (1 - [REDACTED]) b7C
4 - Los Angeles (100-17375) (RM) (1 - Los Angeles 100- [REDACTED]) (California Labor School) (1 - [REDACTED]) b7C
1 - Milwaukee (100-7313) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
1 - Minneapolis (100-1246) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
1 - Mobile [REDACTED] b7C
1 - Newark (100-1984) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
1 - Philadelphia (100-2036) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
1 - Pittsburgh (100-662) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
1 - St. Louis (100-5238) (RM) [REDACTED] b7C
3 - San Francisco (61-380) (RM) (1 - San Francisco 100- [REDACTED]) (California Labor School) (1 - San Francisco 100- [REDACTED]) (Independent Socialist Forum) b7C
3 - Seattle (100-3864) (RM) (1 - [REDACTED]) b7C
23 - New York (100-4013) (1 - [REDACTED]) b7C
(1 - NY 100-7629) (Cominfil NAACP) (7-2) b7C
(1 - NY 100-3620) (Committee For Protection of Foreign Born) (7-2) b7C
(1 - NY 100-10711) (Committee To Secure Justice For Morton Sobel) (7-2) b7C

100-10711-2589

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Letter to SAC, BOSTON
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The source furnished information concerning the proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held 5/31/57-6/2/57, at Werdermann's Hall 160 3rd Ave., NYC. This memorandum contains information furnished by the informant on 6/1/57.

It is noted that in many cases the informant could not furnish the identity of the speaker nor the complete text of each speech or other convention undertaking. In cases of incompleteness dots, blanks or lines have been inserted to signify incompleteness.

A copy of this memorandum is being designated for each office having an active SWP branch for the purpose of information.

A copy is also being designated for files containing individuals mentioned by the informant. However, it should be noted that these names were furnished phonetically by the informants.

In some cases, as indicated, the names of speakers have been identified by information received from other informants.

Copies Cont'd from front page

- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (19-1)
- 1 - NY 100-129802 (CP, USA) (Counter Intelligence Program) (19-1)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED] b7C
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - NY 100-6680 (Independent Socialist League) (7-3)
- 1 - [REDACTED] b7C
- 1 - NY 100-95240 (Labor Youth League) (12-14)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED] b7C
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - NY 100-19912 (Socialist Labor Party) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-49738 (Socialist Party) (7-3)
- 1 - [REDACTED] b7C
- 1 - NY 100-116917 (Socialist Union of America) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-129859 (Socialist Unity Forum) (7-3)
- 1 - [REDACTED] b7C
- 1 - NY 100-80693 (Young Socialist League) (7-3)

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(male speaker) House come to order please.
The question has been that

(male speaker) Now, we have been told
that for administration to settle on the Negro question, that
because of the ... and not extend any sense.

now

We will/proceed with the speakers list.
... make sure everyone who wants to speak is on the list.
If there are any additional speakers they may have their
names put on the list at this point. If when your name
is called you do not wish to speak, please indicate
and we will strike your name.

DEE, Detroit

(male answer) Yes

JEAN, Cleveland (female answer) Yes

RUTH, Seattle

... Seattle

(female answer) I wish to give my time to
JEAN from Cleveland.

(male speaker) I submit to the convention
that comrade gave her time to another comrade.
I'll put it to a vote. All those in favor. Aye.
All those opposed. No. Motion made that comrade
... give her time to another comrade.... Raise
their hands.

(speaker can be heard to count to 15)

All those opposed (speaker again heard to
count to 15) That was a very

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Well, it's a tie vote. I will cast my vote in favor of a longerof time.

JACK LAUDERT, TOM, ELLEN, CLYDE
CLARA, NATE, NAT, JONES, POWER, ALVIN.....

Are their any names that have hot been listed? All right, I point to a good suggestion... everybody has ... to 5 minutes. Don't feel bad if you have to be cut off in the middle because we want to treat everybody...

(female speaker) I wonder if you have the list in the order in which you'll call off.

(male speaker) We'll have... and from the top.

(female speaker) Well, if there are no objections, I would like to speak after some of the other comrades have spoken. I'm a little close to the top.

(male speaker) ...I'll push your name down.

(female speaker) Thank you.

(Male speaker) All right, the 1st speaker is DEE of Chicago.

(male speaker)... the way I understand the problem, we have to have a fundamental base. We think that capitalism is a world phenomena. Since JIM CROW is a part of capitalism, it is also a thesis of world type. Now my because of the international

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feats of capitalism / JIM CROW although the forms
may differ throughout various sections of the country
but it happened in Spain, and for this reason I feel
that there is a direct relationship between the loyalist
government and the government of the people of
America.

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(Unsub male speaking) - - - I feel that there is a direct relationship between the Loyalist Government and the government of . . . people of America. I hate to show that the beginning of the Civil War . . . the next step surrounds the upsurge . . . the right of the NLB along with the March To Washington movement . . . now there is one point of criticism that I have of the Communist presentation of the eight point . . . and I say . . . has been instrumental in raising the struggle to a much higher level . . .

The above unsub male concluded the speech by stating in general that the SWP is the Party with the solution to the problem and that the whole Left Wing agrees that the common goal is Socialism.

Unsub woman makes a mostly unintelligible speech regarding the leadership of the negro movement, non-violence, Pacifism, the War Resistance League, the ISL and MARTIN LUTHER KING. She concludes by pointing out what the SWP must do to bring about negroequality.

(Unsub woman speaking) - - - Comrade I would like to take up briefly the relationship of the negro question to our anti-Stalinist work. The negro question, as far as I'm concerned is one of the most important weapons in our compaign. I say this because . . .

Unsub woman continues with an apparent attack on the part the CP is taking in the negro struggle. She described activity at CP meeting she attended as follows:

"And we had one negro present in the audience . . . after the talk, someone in the audience got up and asked a very simple question, Why don't we have negroes in the audience? The leadership there answered the question very simply, there are no government jobs . . . and, therefore, we don't have any negroes. However, I took the opportunity to take the floor and relate the fact that they have no

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negroes today, cannot attract negroes today, to their incorrect, theoretical approach, particularly the question of . . . There was quite a reaction to this, one CP rank and file member . . . There was a member there who was sincerely interested in eliminating prejudice and she could not stand any attack on the party approach. Any other question, in any other field, we might admit error, she said, but not on the negro question. We have done too much work, too much activity and have been in the negro struggle too long. And she ended by practically sobbing that the negro people will come back into the CP.

(Unsub female continues) - - - However, those negro people won't come back into the CP. The negro people have completely . . .

I consider the negro question so important for two main reasons. One, the SWP has to divide the revolution leadership in this country in all questions, not exclusively of this one. Second . . . We have an opening here by which to chip away those revolutions in the CP on this question. This question will definitely shake people up and cause them to start thinking . . . in conclusion I want to say . . . enable us to carry our revolutionary standards in all fields including the negro struggle, which like every other social phenomena is subject to complete analysis and not merely . . .

An unsub male then gave a speech mostly unintelligible regarding the negro struggle and national minorities.

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(Unknown male speaking) We.....oppressed people. We have to keep alive the conflict of the right of self determination. Now the right of self determination is not what the Stalinists mean. You want to attack the Stalinists. Whatunified inspection of self determination in the first place that.....of self determinationevil people what they are. That's not aat all. Our of the right is just the right. We know what we know.....that our associates called.....of the..... concerned.....we feel the mutual people want that.

The speaker continued. However, the meaning of his speech was... unintelligible except for a few words and phrases, which standing alone, had no meaning.

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Unknown subject male: I do not believe this should be considered These are ideas I had before I came to the convention, and these discussions here have only strengthened those convictions. I want to point out particularly to the practical approach on the subject. What I feel is this. These resolutions should be held over and that any vote at this time would be incorrect.

Unknown subject male: The next speaker will be ... to be followed by ...:

Unknown subject female: Comrades, I understand the unrest and uneasiness that you feel. There is a... attack being made on an innocent document that doesn't say these things that Comrade FRASER and his supporters maintain are being said. Now this is a typical kind of a discussion supporters try to lead off the fact that the differences are as ... not clear. It is because this key resolution is in my opinion not the kind of a clear cut unambiguous presentation of the Nationalist concept of the Negro question has indeed been given by the speakers here today including Comrade BREITMAN and Comrade DAN ROBERTS. It is an ambiguous resolution. It is a contradictionary resolution. It is an all inclusive resolution which (several words omitted) whole difference towards this thing and individuals in the party. All thrown together on the basis of line two ... of a line that is admittedly our concern. Does that mean then that where necessarily be centered in looking for differences if you discern such a line that is fundamentally wrong and therefore seems to loose the nature of the function. No I don't agree that it is an unwarranted skepticism that is being attested here but frankly along with the fact that suddenly out of years waiting out of a history of seven years in the party, even though this

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is the first time to go into it (several words omitted) Comrade FRASER ... the criticism that in 1951 and again his approach was to warn of the danger in calling a party (several words omitted) leading to our final decision on the Negro colonialist concept of the Negro question (several paragraphs unintelligible).

Now I am very glad to see today in the discussion that there was a much more serious approach to the criticisms as there was by Comrade BREITMAN. We cannot laugh away, ridicule away, or import away the criticisms even though they are irritating and even though they are We must try to understand what is being criticized here and what our fundamental stand is on this question. We cannot say what's wrong with you boys, what are you complaining about, aren't you ever happy, what difference does it make what you call it as long as it is good whatever it is. Come then is this the attitude of a Marxist orientation? Is it correct to say, well I can call it a Nationalist struggle, a racial struggle, a racial question, but an anti-national question, etc, and so on goes the national question. No Comrades we have got to define and be critical and exact in our terms. We have got to know how to characterize new terms and to determine which ... are dominant. Are the National ... of the Negro struggle, are the non-National, anti-National intergrationists aspects of the Negro struggle predominant in this unity of officials? Is that how a Marxist analizes and defines our Nationalist or non-Nationalist question. We cannot go on year after year saying the hope for the Negros (several words omitted). The struggle will decide (several words omitted). The ultimate direction of the struggle depends how Marxists analize and characterize.

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Unknown subject male: I think that too much time is spent ... to read and study up But in reading last night, hurriedly, I came to this conclusion regarding KIRKS So (several words omitted) for the Negro struggle for equality. That first of all (several words omitted) and in order to solve the problem of inequality it is necessary to destroy the capitalist system. That is my understanding of our position (several words omitted). And going from this comes the idea that we have freedom to criticize the Negro leadership the same way that we can criticize the leadership of the American Labor Movement. In my opinion in our approach, both Negro and white persons, we can come out completely with our new program and let the people say we never tried that program but that we have a few (snags) in our approach, in our political approach, to the Negro Movement just as we do in our personal basis with the Negro individuals. We can never attempt to have a ... attitude ... that Negro people are fine and wonderful and that we can't criticize them and the other thing which is that we can't consider this with (several words omitted) and we have the solution to the problem of Negro equality already made and all the Negro people have to do is accept the social system for what it is and their problems will be solved. I think that ... must be ... Negro purpose ... spokesman and that these Negro militants, Negro revolutionists, will be those ones that will be able to lead the Negro people toward the solution of the problem and the achievement of social equality.

Unknown subject male: The next speaker is Comrade (WARWAK) of Chicago followed by ... of Los

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Angeles. (WARWAK) Comrades, at the present conjuncture of the crisis of Stalinism and the ... lies (several words omitted) that the Negro struggle is different (several words omitted) will be done on the basis of our correct approach to the Negro struggle. Therefore to have an ambiguous approach would be even more disasterous than having it (several words omitted).

Resolution by KIRK contains this statement and I quote "Theoretically the profound growth of racial solidarity (several words omitted) the Negro people (several words omitted)". Is there a basis for an economic basis in this country for the Negro people? Is there an economic basis? Do they have their own economic institutions? Are they all put together in the same ...? Do they have a separate language? What is the basis for this Nationalism? Nationalism was ever around the Negro movement and at this stage of the development is completely reactionary, and as the price of capitalism deepens, the participation of the Negro workers becomes more and more important, it becomes more (reactionary). Now Comrade FRASER on page six at the top says "above all the Negro Movement must become aware of the isolation ... that the labor movement doesn't seem to do and as a consequence the working class as a whole appears unmoved or concerned with the Negro struggle in the south. Then the Negro workers' movement can turn its back and go its way alone."

Such a (several words omitted) it would set back the labor struggle and would set back the Negro struggle. The only way the Negro people can win is through unity. The major weapon of the capitalist

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class is ... and when the Negroes have (several words omitted) the position that the only good white man is a dead white man (several words omitted).

Now another thing that Comrade FRASER has pointed out which the P.C. Resolution does not deal with is that what is necessary is a deeper analysis of the Negro petty bourgeoisie, what is the creative role they play, what is the relationship of the Negro working class, what is their relationship to Socialism. This is very important (several words omitted) question. This is a contradiction, the contradiction isn't ours, but nevertheless we must understand what the contradiction is. My proposal is that we do not take a vote on the resolution because there is a lot that is unsaid, a lot that is incorrect on the question of the Negro struggle.

Unknown subject male: The next speaker is Comrade CLYDE of Los Angeles, to be followed by Comrade JONES of

CLYDE (female) Comrades, I agree wholeheartedly with the speaker who immediately preceded me, and feel that he expressed my point of view in a nutshell so to speak. But I also wish to speak for myself. I believe that what is happening here today in that the dual nature of the Negro struggle is manifested itself in the ... of our time. The upsurge of the Negro movement coincides as you know with the ebb of the revolution and has had a profound effect on the thinking of all of us and tends to crystalize (several words omitted). I feel confident in our ability to fight against the tendency to harden ourselves in whatever (several words omitted).

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I think that this would not be the practical solution for the party. But my prediction at the present time is a result of the very intense, and I might add ... study of the Negro always feeling as an integral part of the struggle of the American workers for Socialism. Let me ... to a free ... which is represented by the resolution presented to us by Comrade KIRK.

Now I'd like to go into the P.C. Resolution (several words omitted) that the Political Resolution presented to this convention would elaborate would follow its line and make the line of that resolution clearer to us as a result of our experiences in the mass movement which has put us in I would believe that the political resolution (several words omitted), and I think the reason for this is basically the fact that for some time the Negro movement, forwarded motion of the Negro movement has not yet coincided with the forward movement of the working class. I don't know what the political committee will do with their resolution. I'm sure they will do the best they can do on the basis of their thinking. But I must welcome their decision that this is a beginning of a serious discussion of the dual nature of the Negro struggle.

Unknown subject chairman: The next speaker is Comrade JONES, followed by Comrade POWERS.

JONES: Comrades, never have so few done so much as (several words omitted) in the 1956 presidential campaign. It was a great inspiration to (several words omitted) in various parts of South America (several words omitted) past year. (Several words omitted) this is a great problem (several words omitted) and

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that of Comrade KIRK I find this, as a matter of fact, I found Comrade KIRK's resolution to be very evasive, however in his presentation, Comrade KIRK thinks (several words omitted) that the true revolutionary party would have (several words omitted) of counterpointing all of Comrade KIRK's position if not (several words omitted) resolution for his presentation it seems to me does not show their problem. Therefore, though I have several reservations on the P.C. draft resolution I disagree with The general argument being on (several words omitted) as presented by Comrade ZWICHER (several words omitted) I should mention to (several words omitted) one the question of separateness based page 26 which (construction two-the question of-on page 27 of the resolution-in reference to separatism I think-) it is my conception ... the Negro question is the question of ... class exploitation of the Negro (several words omitted) it is the bourgeoisies in its oppression of the Negro masses and Negro people. It is this aspect of the Negro question (several words omitted) of the colonial and semi-colonial people, and herein in (robs). The incentiveness of the Negro struggle in colonial revolution (several words omitted) here we should be concerned (several words omitted) negro people, separateness and segregation go together.

... revolve and evolve we cannot afford to give a false impression that we are for segregation, we are not, have never been and will never be. The Militant, our paper, can (several words omitted) record on this. In reference to the two questions (several words omitted) fall of 1955 we find one: it exposed the illusion that the Negro people could achieve its freedom on (several

words omitted) two: that it takes the initiative away from the Negro masses in the (several words omitted), however, inasmuch as it has been said by these comrades that neither the question of separatism nor the question of (several words omitted), we cannot get to the masses except through the vanguard element. We cannot get to them except, unless (several words omitted) interest of the mass, that is the problem. Because (several words omitted). Unknown subject male says, Comrade Chairman I want a special privilege afforded Comrade JONES for some extra time. He has long experience in the south and was up here recently on business and we have about 10 minutes extra that we could afford.

JONES: We must in spite of ... be sure, be confident, that if the generation of capitalism continues (several words omitted) moreover we are confident that we will build the kind of leadership necessary for final victory over the Negro struggle. We need that leadership necessary for (several words omitted) to capitalism, that is the object of the SWP, that's why we are here today.

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(Unsub Male Speaker) "Comrades the theory ... considered by... we have tried to act, out particular objection to the draft resolution submitted by the PC is that it carries rejection for ... apparently the theory is that there is National food for every question except the Negro Question.

Comrade BRIETMAN usurps his ideals to work within the Negro Movement ... on the question of what comes next as related to something in the nature ...

Comrade ROBERTS contends we have theory and we draw a conclusion therefrom ... words concerning the draft resolution and the 1948 resolution.

The 1948 resolution proved the March on Washington Movement and the rise of the NAACP to the post war struggle. The resolution in part, stated that the Negro struggle is an integral part of the struggle of the American working class ... and we conclude therefrom ... that the Negro workers are on the highest level of political understanding of the American workers and that they understand the nature of the state better and that knew the necessity of engaging in the manufacture ... that they oppose the two party system, that they recognize ... of the state and concluded therefrom that the opportunity of the Negro struggle and the Negro Movement, that the result be a great depression, the greatest depression ever visited upon the Negro people, that they have ever experienced in the history of the world. We made that a part of the conclusion ... of the single task of this period was the recruitment of the Negro and development of the Negro average and that we could not do so if we had to reevaluate in our factories and our ...

The new resolution makes mention of this intolerable situation. There has been a long period of relative quiet Negro struggle which has not ... definitely overwhelming

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"... and from this we reject (unintelligible phrase) we see the revolutionary character of the Negro struggle today not as a colored peoples (unintelligible phrase) the colonial revolution is in a poor state therefore the Negro struggle is in a poor state and we have to ..."

(Unsub female Speaker) "Yesterday there were two resolutions under debate, that strike clearly two very different points of view analyzing the situation and developments (unintelligible phrase) and I ... regardless of which point of view I ... it was clear what the difference was when today we seem to be faced with the problem (unintelligible phrase) and for that reason I feel that it is not proper to ask a minority resolution opposed to a recommendation by the majority or unanimously by the political committee that is not as clearly defined, lies the difference. I don't think the majority resolution is perfect in every respect. I think that a number of the Comrades undoubtedly pointed out and I am inclined to think ... the political committee will agree that the resolution could be improved but that does not change the basic ... which is what we should be concerned with here today."

The work the word is the . . . contribution made by Comrades that I think are noting who spoke in opposition to the majority resolution and I don't think was an opposition but rather an improvement on the resolution from the standpoint of accusation against the majority that they are pro ... and pro Stalinist is to my mind completely false. However, the rebuttal question by Comrade ... saying that we would amplify our position on this can be a further explanation to make it clear if there is any doubt about ... Comrades in the party or ... individual outside the party I think it's correct (unintelligible phrase) that the political committee would object to this ... recommendation made by a member of Comrades."

The subject's speech for the next . . . minute according to this informant, was unintelligible and she continues, " and due to the fact that it is not a problem facing us now, I can't see/(unintelligible phrase).
that

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(Unsub Male from Seattle) "Comrades I bring to you greetings from the left opposition ... from the Pacific Northwest.

I want to say that almost a year ago as a result of the Khrushchev revelations and later as a result of the series of events in Poland and Hungary, this group was formed and it was formed in a fraternal relationship with the SWP and Comrades of the Pacific Northwest.

There is right now no ... in the CP or in any of the socialist left today without the SWP. As a result of the critical events and basing ourselves primarily on the criteria of the Democratic and the workers council in Poland and in Hungary we took essentially the same political lines that was expressed in the Majority document of ... organizations but had we taken the line that was expressed by the documents put out about the same time the Marcy Gray documents, our proof that those elements which were coming towards us would have found ourselves in a peculiar position of meeting ourselves coming back but we see question of this Negro resolution we feel that we are everyone of our original group was against the direction of this revolution immediately upon reading it. In fact, I remarked to one of the the Comrades of the fraternal distinction between the SWP and our group ... and a feeling of nostalgia for the old CP, USA.... .

The Communist Party for years has drowned the class struggle ... of the Negro question in the chasma of erroneous national analysis of a confounded ... we have done so precisely for the purpose of consolidating and continuing of the line with the labor bureaucracy ... this solely of the period of the second World War ... in their failure to support the March on Washington, precisely to guarantee the bureaucratic policies of the labor unions ... and in its turn to support the policy of the present bureaucracy of hands off the class struggle against ...

This question of a correct analysis of the Negro question in the United States is extremely important for all of us ... In my opinion it is the top question facing us today in conjunction with the regroupment program. We cannot approach the regroupment program today without approaching the Negro question.

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To show how it has effected the Communist Party in the pre-convention election, right up to the convention election there was ... of Negro Comrades elected until at the present time they have the largest member of Negroes in the top Committee in the Communist Party in its history.

Because this problem is one which is facing the whole Communist Party now I wont say any more, my time is up and I want to thank you for giving me a good time and hope we will have further discussion on this question. I support the position taken by Comrade KIRK rather than the position taken by ... and the majority. Thank you.

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An unidentified male speaker speaking at this time, at length, gave a critique on THOMAS FRASER'S resolution discussing it generally and pointing out what the speaker termed several errors of fact, and especially attacking the supposition in FRASER'S resolution that there exists in the South any large movement of white women.

According to NY 2039-S*, the above speaker was followed by a female speaker, not clearly identified by the informant, who spoke on the resolution and its relationship to the Negro struggle, the working class struggle, Marxist and Trotskyist analysis. According to the female speaker, Negro and working class struggles are the vanguard of mass action and the whole colonial world is just the working class fighting the governing class.

The informant advised that at the conclusion of the above speech an unidentified male individual, probably a chairman, stated that the last speaker concluded a list of speakers and announced that it was his desire that the convention adjourn by one o'clock. He then announced that a vote would have to be taken.

Next, according to NY 2039-S*, another unidentified male speaker spoke. He began with what he (the speaker) described as the origins of the discussion of the Negro question, the Negro struggle for equality and matters of segregation. For the most part this speaker's remarks were inaudible - but did, principally concern the national struggle as opposed to and distinguishable from the Negro struggle. According to the speaker, the resolution did not differentiate between the two distinguishable opposites.

According to NY 2039-S*, the last mentioned speaker continued speaking for a considerable time. However, because of the circumstances under which he spoke most of what he said was inaudible and/or garbled and could not be clearly related by the informant.

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It concerned, as mentioned above, the Negro problem in the United States, segregation, LILLIAN SMITH'S book on the South, Negroes, their thoughts and words, and the churches' part in aiding the Negro. The speaker also discussed the 1941 march on Washington, the Roosevelt administration policies, the NAACP and New York state policy. It was also the speaker's opinion that union leaders support the civil rights movement. The speaker discussed the foregoing convention resolution page by page and also referred the audience to the 1948 resolution and stated that it was never the intention of the SWP to abandon that resolution.

NY 2039-S* stated that upon conclusion of the above speaker's comments, an unidentified female and an unidentified male each proposed certain small specific changes or amendments to the resolution.

Following the above, according to NY 2039-S*, several unidentified individuals, male and female, made short comments relative to the voting which was to be held shortly thereafter.

One of the individuals stated that he did not know what they were voting for - and, another answered that the motion on the floor then was a motion to approve the general plan for a draft resolution on the platform of Negro equality and to authorize a continuing discussion of aspects of the Negro question. ...

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(Man speaking)..... To introduce this amendment, the discussion of we feel is in the concrete, the comrades who would vote for the resolution introduced by the committee has doubts about these two points determination. I therefore feel there is nothing in the resolution without and I therefore feel that we should adopt as a method in amending as an amendment to be placed before the convention

(Man speaking) (on proposed amendment) vote on amendment now to take out the referenced amendment and therefore has to be debated and we'll be here all afternoon (Man continue speaking on fact that amendment involves discussions and quite some time) We got to get through with this so we can get over to the most important point of this convention, the report on the improvement problem we got to do that this afternoon.

(Man speaking) leave it to convention to decide. I withstand with comrade CANNON's motivation and he understands full well that I do not desire on getting bogged down so we can not deal with this important question coming up. I do think that we can dispose of this very quickly on insisting on having this placed before the convention. (vote taken)

(Man speaking) Comrades please be seated so we can get the vote over with.(vote counted)

(Man speaking) would like to make announcement while the secretary is tabulating vote. The credentials committee will meet this afternoon in the back of the hall.

(Woman speaking) The panel scheduled for this afternoon will meet at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue. Also the nominating committee will meet this afternoon The

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The Panel discussion will have names of the floor. Its on the 10th floor. Three panels, dues, trade unions and militants, who are meeting at 8:00 o'clock tonight... that's Fifth Avenue and 13th Street, about a block from headquarters.

(Man speaking in announcement regarding vote is not over).....(Man speaking).....also I would like to request that an analysis be given regarding the desegregation be given in the Armed Forces. The reason for it and the implication of it.

(Man speaking).....the vote tabulates for the defeated resolution 54 and resolved 5..... 33 to 5 vote. The presiding committee announces a recess until 3:00 o'clock.

(Male speaking) Comrades, we have now arrived at the main order of business before the convention. Our political offensive in the present regroupment atmosphere with the Now, its useful to compare at this time that all.....that we use all of our.....studied deliberation.....over questioned program, organization and conduct of all activities of the party are in each and every instance a circumstance aimed in the deductions of breaking out and extending the of the party and thereby penetrating deeper into the mass movement of the United States. Now we are now at that point where we can say that circumstances are propitious for extensive.....so that move. But we are rather at a junction where we can expand our influence within the and in the process avail ourselves of certain modest recruitment opportunities that are present as we note of that exists within modern day We feel that a situation in the leftist movement that is in a complete state of flux and this is the situation where we have to strike and strike where the iron is hot. And it is precisely for that reason that this becomes our main order of business at this convention. As you are all fully aware the present breakup of the mass movement does not

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arise from pressure from the workers from The ferment in the eyes of a revolution has been precipitated by the world crises of Stalinism which is producing repercussions in American politics primarily through the crises of the Communist Party. The repudiation of Stalin has left profound shock in the Communist Party ranks with its false ideological structures through which the revolutionary aspirations of the worker militants come into the Communist Party at all..... It is seeking toward the large scale exodus from the Communist Party that is still going on. It is..... within the Communist Party, precipitating into an party and we hope that the next time that we take the mass.... democracy, a thirst for fresh political thought, a desire for a central re-examination of program in a search for a return to a revolutionary move. I speak in that sense of those elements who have managed to hang on through the years in the Communist Party and still retain a capacity to search for a revolutionary road and in out precious and we can made to help to save the revolutionary party. Their arms have shown a desire to patronize the revolutionary tendency to prove that the SWP, the long taboos against Trotskyism and the attitudes.... for fraternal discussion with these as against these desires present in some sections of the ranks of the Communist Party movement and its periphery, the Communist Party leaders are dodging discussions of the basic political issues, trying to find associations with other political tendencies within strict leadership control, making joint appeals in the name of the various organized duties of the Communist Party to end factionalism within the party, which is intended as a device to curb internal destruction. The leaders of the party and the people of the party concentrate of the discussions of the February convention which means promote the prevalant concept existance with imperialism through the mechanism of a past corroboration and anti-monopolism in the United States that the support of Democratic Party politics. And not a single member of the Communist Party of National statute has shown any tendencies to move to the left in this instance.

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The oddity is that internal conflict continues within the Communist Party between the ranks and the Bureaucracy and the men in the Bureaucracy itself. The fighting remains in a general state of paralysis faced with a financial crises..... up to now the Bureaucracy has been able to exercise its full control over the Party and its activities insofar as its activities have been published. Now in this shakeup, this crises within the Communist Party, this is clear, that the imperialists pressure is on elements within the Communist Party are generally reflected through the crystalization of the Gates wing, which has come into being under the impact of the Stalinist crises. This group is predominantly middle class in its composition. This program is one of conciliation for the Social Democrats, political Bureaucrats, Conservatives, Negro leaders, A trend of similar motive is developing in this dissident elements outside of the Communist Party, and the elements from both of these forces are animated by our anxiety to promote the concepts of the so-called anti-monopoly coalition in an effort to gain respectability in pro-imperialist circles. Some of the ex-Trotskyists are maneuvering in this Stalinist maneuver. The Clark-Bartell tendency has met a conciliatory attitude toward Stalinism They're exonerating themselves through divergent and sundry formations to the notion of Bureaucratic self-reform with respect to the question of the political revolution. They're and faction politics in the Democratic Party. They're advocating an all inclusive National political formation and have rigged up toward this end a party known as the Socialist Unity Forum (SUF), which has been unity, particularly around New York for some period of time. The Cochranites are moving toward abdication to the labor Bureaucracy repudiating the concept of a revolutionary vanguard body and legalizing themselves pasturing as politically uncommitted discussion brokers who are running a magazine called the American Socialists, operating a lecture Bureau with set up to promote public support.

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They offer absolutely no program of action. They have an absolutely un open mind on any and all At the time of the split of the then Cochranites group as a whole in 1952-1953, we made many resolutions at that time and an evaluation has been confirmed by the genesis of this group and by the splitting of this group into the Trotskyist element on one side and the Clark-Bartell element on the other. As we said and as life is demonstrating what they have placed in common is abandonment of revolutionary Socialist positions under the pressure of prolonged isolation from that imminent. Apart from ourselves, the Communist Party would dominate the next label, this lead them into their conciliatory approach toward the Stalinist position. Cochrane saw the Bureaucracy has been super possible through leadership of the masses by any radical party. You'll remember that during the debates that they describe our own position before the split in 1953 in describing their own positions as being to the left of the workers. We held on the other side that class struggle participated by the capitalists contradictions will invariably break the and open an opportunity for the for leadership over the workers. We saw the Stalinists as our chief rival for leadership in the positions and and subsequently managed to confirm our evaluation. Now farther to the right among the ex-Trotskyists are the Schactmanites who split down the middle in 1939 or 1940 over the Russian question on the one of the Second World War after we shared Cochrane's pessimism about the probability of the radical movement winning leadership over the workers in upsurge. The political evolution of the Independent Socialist League, the Schactmanite organization, traces right straight back to their Russian position during 1939 and 1940. They abandoned Marxist criteria in evaluating the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union and in doing so, cut themselves loose from and they have since drifted steadily to the right under the pressures of imperialism. Today they're seeking fusion with the

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Socialist Party and this particularly through the outright pro-imperialist position of the Soial Democrat Federation. They're moving toward imperialist foreign policy, support for the labor bureaucracy as entry into Democratic Party politics. Now if you'll care to listen for an explanation on this, partly in the supplementary report coming from the wife of a former Now lets look at this view..... The Socialist Party The Social Democratic Federation as it is now known is sending out all up and down the line against Independent Stalinists and against ex-Trotkyists. They now make a condition in getting into their setup, as NORMAN THOMAS put it in an article in the "Socialist Call" last December, repudiation of Leninism They bar any form of colaboration with pro-Soviet elements. And this policy of the SP-SDF is begining to take the concrete form which reflects the impossibility of any revival of an old style popular front such as the There is no longer any room for the maneuver between imperialist rivals as Second World War. United States capitalism is a single imperialist for its assault on the colonialist revolution of the workers state and that excludes any pre cold war form of a colition of domestic politics in the United States. Those who refuse to capitulate to the pro-imperialists coalition are left with the choice between Stalinism and revolutionary Socialism. Now I want to describe to you very briefly the surge of the American Forum for Social Education to illustrate this point. As you are aware public analysis of the criteria of the American Forum is no more The Forum is founded on two basic propositions. One, free panel discussions, Two, the principal of non-exclusion. What that boils down to is the facts of the basic concept of the subversive list of the cap talist government. This forum was no more announced than the New York Times, practicing in a dress suit published an editorial that/^{nts} proposition

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would help to bring the Communist Party out of its isolation and therefore it is not good for the country and it is not good for Socialism. That was the line of the New York Times, The Daily News, had its very restrained headlines concerning the American Forum said look into this problem and calls for the Senate Internal Security Committee to investigate the Forum. HERMAN SINGER (PH) of the Socialist Democrats Federation rushed into the press with a denunciation of the Forum as he attacked with great down the line and in a matter of eight days after the announcement of the Forum, the Senate Internal Security Committee began to issue subpoenas some members of the Forum and some people who weren't members of the Forum As you know, they replied by A. J. MUSTE who but what's crystal clear is that from the point of view of they are out to try to smash the creation of any kind of international movement that violates the concept of subversiveness and that means these cannot under any circumstances be the kind of a popular front coalition Now its interesting to observe that the formation the first time with the exclusion of the Communist Party. It didn't exclude the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) itself, they didn't come right out and do that a group of dissident Stalinists and a few other freelance individuals SWP insisted on the right of the Communist Party (CP) to be present..... and thus pose the issue clearly Now in spite of the fact that we have enought support to hang on to this forum that it looks like we have a fighting chance of continuing in business and begin to make gains in our recruitment efforts to reach elements within the radical movement. Now as to the CP itself, the CP remains in business today only as an agency of the Kremlin Bureaucracy. It stands politically bankrupt, morally and weak Its fate is invariably tied to fate of Soviet Union and it survives

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To recognize these facts are group around FOSTER have political revaluation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet orbit outset of the clash maneuver for a position against the rebels of the party. During the opening days of the crisis in the CP the GATES wing appeared to be gaining steadily in strength gain a measure of internal democracy in the party. That process seems to have reached its high tide around the time of the Hungarian uprising when the GATES group came into focus complete with a break from Moscow control. Political Hungarian revolt shift toward de-Stalinization The FOSTER faction GATES group within the CP. They made a compromise with the FOSTER faction on February 9, and there they both lost their last chance to win and constitute an independent group. Since that time, a Fosterite They opened the attack on the GATES group and then appeared to have won FOSTER significant support among the worker elements remaining in the party. Then, the FOSTER group sought to remove GATES himself as the Editor in-Chief of the "Daily Worker" and under this attack they begin to push the Gatesites and the Fosterites, including FOSTER, himself, has recently been taking position The GATES leadership make their faction prisoners of a balance of power deal with DENNIS who up to this point typical Stalinist group. Then, we affiliate with neither FOSTER nor GATES and thereby stimulate representation of rebellious elements within the ranks of the party The Fosterites have broadened suspensions of several individuals in California who have been sympathetic to the SWP. Now this is another step toward Stalinism concept within the CP..... This put the writing on the wall for the Gatesites. The Fosterites appear to be preparing to deepen this faction and to intensify attacks along this line Since

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the main proponent of the GATES faction is involving in a Social-Democratic direction, this element remains under a strong compulsion to escape from Kremlin domination and since can't be tolerated, we can therefore assume the probability of a and clearly FOSTER is now I've just heard that a political revolution could upset the Fosterite But appears doubtful now that any organized split of serious proportions could result. It seems more likely that there would by another internal shakeup within the party leading to present losses through their timewithin the party, and the CP would again be removed..... Because so long as the Kremlin Bureau-cracy manages to hang on in its dictorial rule over the workers and, the CP will have a reason to exist, and will remain an obstacle to the building of a revolutionary socialist party. Even under complete and total Fosterite domination, the CP will remain a faction of a group of dissidents that will..... induce confusion and disorientation in the regroupment prosesses But what I would like to say to the Stalinist

The revolutionary socialist tendency which we represent today stands in a much more favorable relationship of forces..... The CP now has less chance of repeating its trail of the 30's like dominating that's provided the Stalinists are opposed by firm, principled, revolutionary socialist party capable of thinking of itself as a mass movement through the creation of the class struggle Given these conditions an anti-Stalinist, anti-imperialist party can be expected to play a leading rule in the next Now only results will determine whether that party will be the SWP in its present form as a new party created through the fusion of the SWP with the revolutionary groups that are emerging In any case it must be a party with a revolutionary socialist program and it will represent the political vindication of our long struggle

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in the defense of a revolutionary principles. The surest guarantee for the emergence of a serious revolutionary socialist party will be out continual concentration on the leftward moving elements for the duration of the regroupment period and our main attention must be concentrated on the CP as a group with the object of reaching leftward moving elements in the party and its periphery who want to overcome the crisis of leadership, work out correct programmatic positions, and seek a fresh start to build a revolutionary party. We concur with their conclusion that the first step toward a return to revolutionary position are the independence from Kremlin domination and establishment of democratic rights within the party. We share the revolt of these within the CP against the concillitory policy toward the social democrats and the union bureaucrats However, we must do all we can to help these elements to understand that it is a reputable question for them to support the FOSTER faction against the GATES faction milieu. Our task is to help them toward a realization of a need for a distinct revolutionary trend organized within the CP in opposition to both FOSTER and GATES and we must do all we can to reach these potential revolutionary elements before they leave the party in disgust and fall into a position where it will not be possible to reach them. Our attention must be directed toward social democratic circles As a part of this general process, we must also be alert to attract militant elements within that group who are by objective pressures toward a higher level of political contributions of these lefter and moving elements cannot be and all the tendencies which are mutually antagonistic. There the pro-imperialist social democratic tendency who stand opposed to both the Stalinists and the revolutionary group.....

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Unidentified male speaking -----the second fantasy--inaudible--who has manifested the FOSTER group ---for expiration into the Social Democratic group and who as a unity---of the whole Democratic--Party are hostile to the revolutionary Socialist position.

The third fantasy is the revolutionary Socialist fantasy which will attach no political concessions even to the proletariat or the pro-Stalinist position.

(Unmanly) the regroupment process constitutes a-----of the latenship of forces between these three basic-----. In that sence the ----turning point is the ----revolutionary party in this country. ----we are seeking a fusion of all of the revolutionary Socialist elements into a single political party. a party----generally by firm adherence----principals; a party which legal from ---social democrats by a tangible workers state----; a party ----from the solids by the force of----revolution against the ruling forces in the Soviet sphere. As a first step towards regroupment we have to lead free discussions to clarify potent ideas----through our press, through circulation of our publications----the promotion of public debate, through such instrumentalities as the American Forum and other devices.-----at the same time as -----part of this discussion----unintelligible----- aspect of our political regroupment the National Committee recommends to the convention that we ledge a program offensive against all the papers of ----democracy in putting forward the revolutionary program of workers democracy. We must take cognizance of the fact that the crimes of Stalinism as (slew) in the minds of the masses a fear of dictatorship.

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A determination that they don't want in any way, shape, or form a repercussion of what they have seen or believed to be that what appeared in the Soviet Union. Our problem is to bring the truth to these workers, to bring to them a realization of what is the revolutionary concept of the Socialist state of the Socialist movement of freedom for the workers in their organizations. In projecting this program we want to be on one side to consciously and militantly -----normal thinking against the fake democratic-----of-----and their social democratic cousins and all the other cockroach psuedo democrats that are going around bringing that caliber of politics in the high name of democracy. And on the other side we want to project what is the real revolutionary concept of a workers democracy which is workers democracy in truth---the question of civil rights for the workers and their unions, for the masses and all the mass organizations in this country. And for the democratic privilege --inaudible-- concepts first innumerated in the----unintelligible fat between their ears (joke) (laughter) (applause)---- to break up this business of centralized dictatorship---- and smash----of promised rights of the locals the break up of Bureaucratic gains----a general house cleaning all up and down the bank and that is point one of what a real workers democracy means.

Point two to demonstrate---what workers democracy is and as it should be practiced in a mass movement and as it will be conceived in a revolutionary socialist state and here are-----examples.

A party founded on---concept dedicated to a revolutionary outlook, a party that has full internal democracy in arriving at decisions from policy and then to make action the very ultimate decision. The concepts as manifested by the very living reality of our democratic revolutionary party and by which

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program for workers party will be in the Soviet sphere. The full working class contempt of the Soviet-----; the freedom of the Soviet party; the right to strike; the violate right to criticism; the full-----control over-----unintelligible-----this is a concept that projects----and recommended to this convention that the incoming national committee be authorized and instructed to prepare in detail for an organized offensive projecting the general and revolutionary concepts of workers democracy as one of our big sticks to wheel against all the fakers in the-----inaudible.

Also that-----the maximum degree-----train members of the different-----and especially in those areas where we see any possibility of trying to-----arriving,---- common good---inaudible.

Now experience has shown that our political approach to the Leftist Movement elements tends to touch on these big stages-----inaudible---and in general the--- inaudible--discussion---defense of civil liberties, the support of the people's struggle, equality, resistance of the anti labor defensive, struggle against anti-Negro em- ployment and equal wage, the fight for democracy, and similar issues-----with support of the foreign policy with mass political action involving K inaudible (sounded like individual's name) with regard to the responsibilities within the CP----inaudible this phase of the discussion takes the form around the question of---unintelligible and in the case of the Young Militant in----the Social democratic sphere----in both instances the discussion leads to the-----unintelligible labor party concept of the -----politics in the Democratic Party, and this trend of course leads in turn to the-----of-----Socialist election campaign which now has a double value for us in

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that----inaudible and serves as a means to help us reach----inaudible that are arriving here and there within the mass movement.

We should do this when ever we can in the year 1957 and above all we will try to use the maximum extent the NYC---inaudible to keep the whole party in this regard. Now in these instruction the---inaudible party policy has changed----inaudible----extent we only -----after discussion-----unintelligible-----and in the case of CP elements it has called support of the political revolution as----inaudible. Within the Social democratic sphere-----unintelligible with advance to worker's states and-----unintelligible.

In both instances^{the}/discussion at this stage has been to arrive at a point where it opens the way toward an alternate---unintelligible to---of the basic concepts of a permanent revolution and that is where-----unintelligible-- of a political understanding. While the problematic discussion is taking place we advocate proper action on specific issues. These actions help to promote a fraternal feeling as was very graphically illustrated in the May Day held a year ago in which facilities---- political expression up and down the line. ----unintelligible ---helps to create a discussion atmosphere and the actions then themselves tend to stir---unintelligible program positions and of course that facilitates by the fact that we only reserve the right with our program to a close extent-- unintelligible that we deem advisable in these defenses. General terms the possibilities of---unintelligible concerning common actions are determined by two basic criteria. One under no circumstances will we agree to any kind of action that

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contemplates crossing class lines (in morals). Two any common action organized must be realistic in view of the given opportunities in which we are not going to----render in these actions. But within this framework we can be thankful in our approach and vigorous in our efforts to utilize this instrument as another weapon in our political offensive. Now the charge has been made that numerous quarters think our whole approach to regroupment is one massive (trading) organization, that we are out for just one thing and one thing only and that is to steal---unintelligible---that charge is false in full. Now we must make this decision in our policy and in our conduct with regroupment----unintelligible---because we don't think that we need---unintelligible----that we are not like a bunch of peanut merchants, we are trying to find every vital force that can be one to ---unintelligible---strengthen the vanguard of the revolutionary Socialist party. Now we reject any attempt to brand as----unintelligible----however, our gesture toward fraternity with the members of other tendancies----or the publication in our press of materials submitted by individuals from other tendancies----and we reserve the right to comment objectively----unintelligible----if the Stalinist or the Social Democrats try to---unintelligible our invitation and fail to accept to----unintelligible--- of false charges at least----unintelligible---we wanf to be able to shcw clearly where . the responsibility lies ----unintelligible and we must be ready to go half way in working out---similar problems of better party relations---unintelligible---of tho regrcupment program. Now we do not make a----unintelligible and inaudible ----of the organizational question----unintelligible history of our party back in the mid 1930's----the---- League of America----a year or so later. This party

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entered the Socialist party----unintelligible----we were looking not always----to increasing revolutionary Socialists----unintelligible----expelled from SP---merged into the SWP which represented any charges from the Communist League of America that had been thrown out of the CP in 1928 and----unintelligible---we are entirely unintelligible provided that it is founded on a revolutionary Socialist----unintelligible provided that it constitutes itself as a----unintelligible---party firmly revolutionary principles, international revolutionary outlook and----democracy----community of action. Basically our principle organizational objective may be summarized as follows:

We are working to bring about a fusion of all revolutionary Socialist parties into a single party ----unintelligible---second connect the party with the mass movement----base that left wing on mass action induced by the----unintelligible---and through it's work will generate responsiveness for Socialist aims to a program of----unintelligible---split the labor movement with the democratic party and create a labor party based on unions in the life of ----people workers----; establish a workers and people's government and move forward to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist party. End of talk.

Unidentified male speaker spoke of the SWP's problems concerning regroupment. He also spoke of the increase of interests since 1950 in the labor movement. He was critical of the ISL and of MAX SHACHTMAN. (This talk for the most part was unintelligible.)

An unidentified male voice made an announcement which was for the most part inaudible concerning the function to be held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City. He also mentioned the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

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Unidentified male speaker. This individual spoke concerning regroupment and told what apparently were jokes as there was some laughter. Voice was inaudible.

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Un male: ... "We have a collective, social and political program... a Marxist theory that's correct in my opinion and we will have to transform our paper, our (Party?) organization, into a fighting organization... The key question is..we in the meantime anticipate the possibilities of change... the basis of developing a left wing."

Applause

Un female speaking: "During the (2nd?) World War, the (Marxist?) theory on the preparation of World War III, the citizens... a program against all odds... that had such an appreciation of... It is true that ... political revolution in the Soviet (orbit?) again ... against great odds."

(Un female continues speaking indistinctly)
"... and I'm proud of our movement... one of the most important issues... that issue is the question of the United Front... But to ... in a United Front with a Communist Party... and who would unite with anybody... But we are already now involved in what I regard as one of the most important ... problems... Communist Party. How to enter a United Front with the Communist Party... We began ... unity in Los Angeles; the comrades entered into this work of the (Sobell?) Committee. In various localities the comrades have also entered the field of protecting... In this work... we begin by ... expressing a great deal of suspicion ... wary of ... in a ... organization ... and so quickly... we have deprived them of all their ... and suspicions ... I can say that we are fighting against anyone who is standing in the way of cooperating... They are learning to our advantage on a fight for a United Front basis and I believe that this work will develop in addition the great part we have of ... open-handed struggle for the new regime. I just want to say in conclusion that I have advised one of the Philadelphia (comrades?) of our social tonight ... so that we will have the opportunity of meeting some of our relatives from out of town... and I am sure that (he?) would be happy with her. She's the wife of one of the foremost ... in the United States. And I think that the Socialist Workers Party... the job of organizing a fight..."

Applause

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Un male speaking: ... "On the basis of a supra political relationship... would have to have as a leader of the north and south groups..." (Un male continues -- almost completely inaudible) "... position on their anti-Stalinist position by taking a strong political stand on the Hungarian Revolution. ... the friendly (cooperative?)..."

(the above un male stops talking and another un male is heard unintelligibly; 2 or 3 other un males also heard indistinctly)

Another un male begins speaking: "... the political revolution ... I agree with Bert ... and we are going to find all kinds of strange developments from strange sources and we're going to have to make it possible for all of these who are to us....to make it more or less easy to get in ..."

(Above un male continues speaking - almost completely unintelligible)

"...this is a classic struggle ... a tremendous contribution ... and hammers down the (lot ?) of those social (democrats?) and would be (democrats?) ... The many thousands who have left the Communist Party (still?) think of themselves as Communists... ... he said ... break down the barrier, get into all the committees... that have to do with civil rights and defense... every committee, every organization... as a leader should be..."

Applause

Another un male speaks: "We support John Wright... same platform... Smith Act Committee in Seattle ..." (Above un male continues to speak unintelligibly for the next 3 or 4 minutes)

Applause

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(Voice of an un male heard saying "Howard". Several voices heard indistinctly in background)

Another un male speaks: "Comrades, the discussion broke down on the regroupment of the Socialist forces. If this is clear to us, then the question that the entire ... of the regroupment of the revolutionary Socialist Forces depends for its (outlet?) upon us. Foremost in the (radical?) movement... I think we have all had experience ... in seeking to seek the measures... of some kind of Socialist Unity. Nobody outside of us presents a clear concept of the need to form a group among the revolutionary Socialist Workers and how this can be done... I know that most of us... did not realize that until we had been in this vicinity... Even when we could show absolutely that we were correct... we could completely ...the concept of a party, and to plan our own in relationship to many groups... I use the word Socialist Democracy because I believe... monopolized that word, particularly the Schachtmanites... Socialist Democracy, workers democracy, put down on paper what we mean ... the workers, and particularly the ... I think we have all noted that in the practice of ..."

Applause

Another un male now speaks: Mentions that there are "about 350 people" there. (This un male speaks for approximately four minutes and is completely unintelligible)

Applause

Another un male speaks: "... the committee for the ... of American Freedom... now in addition to that we have immediate prospects of participating in the Washington Square Forum... connected with the American Forum...however, we are ... give a very brief sketch of ... our main base of operation. This is predominantly a Negro Forum, 27 years in the area led... by the Communist Party. In recent period we have learned ... split in the leadership..."

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"(compelled?) by the Communist Party to the extent that those who... have found it necessary to carry the load of the forum without the support of the Communist Party... and just about that time ... This has sent us through the 1956 election campaign... our comrades ... Vice President and Presidential candidate... ... First through the President a resolution which he accepted (by the forum?) which concluded that the forum... encouraged the vanguard element... This resolution was ... with the national organization (policy?) ... official ... delegation ... 14 people which was a relatively substantial number of people...

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Unknown male: Now we have returned. We're busy going ... this event. These point toward the use of the instrument of independent political action proposing ... taking the initiative and putting forward independent class candidates in the coming election, not alone necessarily but in collaboration with other organizations. I want to say this. I purposely ran down a list of these organizations because we're faced with a problem. The problem that having been engaged ... in this organizational effort now we're trying to compete ... concentration on individuals so it is very true that ...

End of speech; applause. Here a considerable amount was unintelligible.

Unknown male (apparently the Chairman) I think if the delegates from Los Angeles ...

Unknown male: Recruitment campaign ... There are problems involved ... that of the SP - SDF. We now do recruitment work ... for the first time in many years ... That is the way recruitment problems ... revolutionary spokesman on one hand ... collaboration on the other. In Los Angeles ... this has been reflected in a gain of six new members among youth in the past year ... One of these came to us and joined our party from the Socialist Party not as a result of ... on our part but by confusion ... failure of the local YSL leaders to approach her. We too have been gathered from all political tendencies, from left-wing democrats associated with the LYI, CP and SP. Now our ability to win over the revolutionary ... in the American working class ... on mass youth movement, revolutionary movement.

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Considerable unintelligible material.

Unknown male: San Francisco working within the past month ... the most important one, the Independent Socialist Forum, organized about the same as the American Forum for instance in New York. We've been going now for about five months of this ... Their main activity is sponsoring public meetings that bring speakers on Socialism ... What we're trying to do is further the aims of the Party ...

Considerable amount of unintelligible material.

Unknown male: The closing of the California Labor School was an unfortunate blow but ... we're going to form a new school ... we're supporting the Sobell Committee...

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(Speaker Believed to be TED DOSTAL, from
the Youngstown, Ohio, Area, Just Starting:)

"I would like to take a few minutes to discuss some of the work _____ the various political differences in my opinion _____ and we have some comrades highly successful in this work that makes application of this theory entirely practical. We happen to see a good portion of this work in Youngstown because of this position of theirs and our past many years of working in the labor movement, for we were able to move in on some of the last fall when the _____ committee had offered to come into Youngstown to investigate the alleged _____ association. They moved in on some people who had formerly represented the IWO (?). We immediately contacted the people who the government _____ and asked them if we could help them to organize some movement to help in their defense. They were very pleased with that and proceeded to take a place in the movement _____ organization of the _____ Committee of Youngstown _____. Our particular _____ associated group moved in and were very pleased because we were the only ones in the whole Youngstown District who had done anything at all on the defense against the committee that had come into Youngstown to _____.

"Also it was because of this situation we are willing to find and take final claim in spite of the reactionary attitude of the _____ which other accept. We also contacted some people, also some Party people who were sympathetic to the Stalinists _____. We immediately contacted many inside the mass movement there who had been expelled from the unions not because of the unions but who had been removed from office in 1943 because of their past affiliation with the workers party, and these people were _____ and proceeded to march down to see _____ of the movement and they put the pressure

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on that group of officials of the movement for the _____
of the McClellan Committee. And with that we get involved
in the work with the cooperation with the former people
of the _____ party and their own Stalinist movement.
Some of these had been leaders of the little steel strike
and the _____ during the little steel strike. Some of
the other works, I would like to insert here we had contact
with the leaders of the CP in the Cleveland area or rather
in that area in Western Pennsylvania and discussed with them our
attitude toward the McClellan Committee and also we
_____ the movement which is the youth movement _____.

We got the agreement and, of course, an agreement
with Fosterites, that more or less make a record of the
fact that they provided an agreement that you are opposed
to the McClellan Committee. They also stressed the need
of a movement in the entire steel industry and the question
of the unemployment discussion. Now with this information
we ask them to vote _____ Stalinism _____ and whose _____
we _____. " (End of Speech)

Next Speaker Believed to be FARRELL DOLDS

"Time will permit us to have further reports on the
excellent work of comrades and various sections and parties
_____. This compensates in part at least by the fact that
the comrades from around the country have been doing a pretty
neat job of sending us reports to the national office
of the key developments and experiences and suggestions arising
from the work in each branch and to the best of our ability,
we have been trying to redistribute that information at
least in order to _____ to the branches. And we urge you
to continue sending in these reports, and we will continue
to supply the information.

"Now, in the same connection, I would like to take
just a few minutes of the summary time to give you some
information about the character of the forum that we have
promised to you. First, with respect to the situation
relating to the SP-SDF. The time the forum was in the
process of being created the SP-SDF National Action Committee,

NY 100-4013

"the National Secretary laid down the decree prohibiting six members of the organization, including several members of the legislative committee who defied this stand and joined the National Committee of the American Forum. With this attack that reached its major point of intensity thus far in the subpoenas of the Eastland Committee, and all this was laid down by the National Action Committee of SP-SDF, giving its participants ten days to get off the American Forum or get out of SP-SFF. Real generous. Four of the six that defied this ultimatum to this point are insisting on their rights to remain and fight before _____ Now we can't be optimistic that they will carry any of the SP-SDF but if they serve aid to the Forum, then whether in the next week or two or three of the attack on them that is important. Of even greater importance is the fact that at the same time their work draws two of the SP-SDF members, one of them being MAC REYNOLDS (PA), the so-called leader of the left wing in the SP who _____. Two members of SP-SDF, who are out on Long Island, answered this withdrawal by applying for membership in the Forum.

"And a meeting of the working committee of the Forum asked for two days to accept their membership. At the same meeting that was very important, a representative of the YSL or rather two representatives of the YSL applied and one was accepted. The reason only one was accepted was this, that we have had an informal understanding that each of the organizations have one representative on the committee and so _____ committee decided which would be the representative.

"The decisive factor is that there came support from a new quarter, that in mind that fact that here was a _____ new weapon to use against the Shachtmanite defense. They fell down and got lost into the swamp of democracy.

A.S.C.P
-4-

NY 100-4013

"Now a complete review of the Communist Party forum would be helpful to . His the after several weeks we can make the generally accurate statement of their formation and especially of this the Gates Wing, while they are searching through the forum for a means to find their way toward acceptance in more maturistic circles one . They are certain of the useful purpose of helping us to reach rank and file members of the CP by their participation in this forum. Now here are the essential lines of the Gates policy we have received:

- "1. They now participate without reservation or qualification the support of SWP victims of the witchhunt. They do this on the grounds that they recognized that their past position is politically unobtainable. That is, of opposing the and they possibly will have to defend themselves on this score. And the Fosterites are opposing the Forum all the way, and the word from what we believed is a whole authentic source, that this on the eve of the Forum, that the Fosterites or Foster himself are writing a letter explaining that in the 'Daily Worker' or denouncing the Gates participation in the American Forum as a manifest . But apparently this .
- "2. Point of Gates policy. They are firmly opposed to any kind of a united front action or big party to party debate between the CP and the SWP. They are opposed to this because the Fosterites are against sending . They do not really want to participate with us at the forum .

(He does not give Point 3.)

L.C.: MP
-2-

NY 100-4013

- "4. The Gates group is trying every way it can to de-emphasize any kind of fraternization between the CP and the SWP to strengthen any form of relationship between leading representatives of these two organizations through such organization as the American Forum. We don't hold still for that, it is very true, but off hand Gates is breaking through it, we are breaking through it with support. We have in mind then the exceptional elements of _____.
- "5. Their approach to the struggle of the National Committee of the American Forum is marked by desire on one side to lead themselves to taking of character of a CP front. And it is very bad for us. On more than one occasion I've sat there at the Forum. One concrete example is a vicious attack demonstration of courage on the part of the Forum . Bloomberg (ph), the main representative of . They are very nervous about tending in any way toward being a CP front. The other half of the policy is that they want to be equally careful to try to keep the National Committee of the American Forum, colored in such a way that it does not have the essential semblance of a CP-but that is what it is because there is nothing in this forum but these two organizations, these skinheads of these meetings where they sit around with outside sources and college professors and STAROBIN, once Foreign Editor of the "Daily Worker" .

NY 100-4013

"Now it is important to keep this in mind when it comes to the question of the local committees, and I want to make one other point first, the working committee is now calling for a public meeting here in New York on a _____ and we think there is a possibility of a very good meeting and of getting a forward front to the whole problem through this action which will come about in spite of the action of the Eastland Committee _____. Now at the same time the orientation is for the extension of the forum vehicle in the form of local committees throughout the country affiliating with the American Forum. National likeness and its because of that _____ will be the basic policy of the Gates wing of the CP which is the ultimate that it will find here and there is some possibility of worry in creation of local committees."

C

AR:alg

-1-

NY 100-4013

Now at the same time the only action is for the foreign people throughout the country...obligated with the American form of the national mechanism...

Now this is what the national committee for the seventh time has returned for the effect of the post-war conditions...as originally planned the committee will report on the international aspect...

The government is now preparing the even control... the object is to use the perogatives of democracy as a pretext for the passing of new anti-labor laws...this concept which will suppose...and its final effects of speeding the of the so called Democrats...until we have been unified in our attack on the Labor Party question around the youth campaign... by the fact that the 1956 election will be...have been Democrats for the second time in the White House. Now these opportunities are...but that this whole concept... the combined process...our friends is the revolutionary forces standing throughout the last movement and their guide at the same time ...

We cannot guarantee...but we can say there are definite prospects of making some careful pagan realistic...from boundaries of stone for the construction of the left wing... the revolutionary forces movement can help the process along by initiating a united front action to consolidate...

...support the work of the NAACP, the NIA, and other Negro workers leagues who play a united role in the civilized movement. That in the period ahead we will work consistently and constructively to try to elaborate the plan that every worker is obilized to some...: and

AR:alg

-2-

NY 100-4013

in the sense that we have to understand that even initially in these groups small or large there is some creed in these particular circumstances which like other classes... what we are seeking to do is to make contact with currents where we can whenever we make contact in any period or national movement our first thoughts would be not how can we lock this person up but how can we use this contact as a means of reaching some other person...

... the greatest overhead expense has been to try and meet the objectives...and this has created an uneven sense of odium concerning the condition of the CP. ... concerning FOSTER and the CP,...Smith Act case.

I want to close by exercising a very crucial point that in any of these situations no matter how bad they seemed at the moment,...

(Applause)

(This portion is summarized. The speaker put forth a motion for vote which motion was carried.)

... the delegates of the present national convention of the Socialist Workers Party send their heartiest greetings and-fellow delegates to the comrades of our folk organization...our best wishes to the British Workers Party for your success...

(At this point a womans voice unaudible appeared to be giving directions as to how to reach certain addresses in New York City.)

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBECK COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2591 DATE 8/22/57

CONSISTING OF 2 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety, under (b)(7)(D) as information contained in this serial would identify an informant to whom an expressed promise of confidentiality has been given. This information includes dates and places of meetings which were attended by a limited number of people known to the informant and/or information from these meetings and situations in which an informant was in close contact with members of these organizations, disclosure of which would reveal his identity.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-387835)

6/23/57

SAC, PORTLAND (100-9004)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE
JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE
IS-C; IFA-50

OO: NY

Rerep SA WILLIAM SAMUEL BROWN, Portland, dated
2/20/57 and bulet 3/18/57.

No information has been received by the Portland
Office to indicate that captioned organization has been
engaged in any activity of any kind since submission of
referenced report.

This matter is being retained in a pending
inactive status and will be followed closely through all
available sources.

2-Bureau (100-387835) (RM)
1-New York (100-107111) (RM)
1-Portland (100-9004)
WSR:jdt
(4)

100-10711-2592

Sheldan EJ

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2593 DATE 8/23/57

CONSISTING OF 2 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety,
under (b)(1) as it has been classified pursuant
to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number [REDACTED].

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOPELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2594 DATE 8/26/57

CONSISTING OF 3 PAGES

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FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2596 DATE 8/26/57

CONSISTING OF 2 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety,
under (b)(1) as it has been classified pursuant
to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number [redacted]

8/27/57

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-10799)
COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE
FOR MORTON SOBELL, etc.,
IS-C

CP-USA
FUNDS
IS-C
CINAL

[REDACTED] reliable, advised on 8/22/57, that breakfast held 8/18/57 at Community Unitarian Fellowship Headquarters, 4561 North Ave., San Diego, for benefit of San Diego Sobell Committee, an adjunct of CSJMS, [REDACTED]

Instant breakfast was attended by approximately 15 CP members in the immediate San Diego area. Exact no. is determined from surveillance. This is first time in over two years that CP members and suspected CP members have turned out en masse in support of front organization. b7D

CSJMS was formed to obtain funds to secure a new trial or the release of MORTON SOBELL, convicted of conspiracy, to commit espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union, 3/29/51.

"*** when the Communists were expelled from the San Diego First Unitarian Church by the pastor, PETER SAMSON, they set up a competitive organization, the Community Unitarian Fellowship. This was designed to operate as a 'non-religious' front organization ***. The Communist group was refused recognition both by the San Diego Unitarian Church and by the American Unitarian Association, the parent body of Unitarian churches in America." (Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1955, H.R. 1643, January 17, 1956, originally released January 11, 1956, p. 26).

- 3 - Director, FBI (AM REGISTERED)
1 - New York (AM REGISTERED) (100-107111)
4 - San Diego (100-9380) (100-6707) (100-8885) (100-13799)
RPC:wac
(8)

100-107111-2599

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 27 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2598 DATE 8/27/57

CONSISTING OF 2 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety,
under (b)(1) as it has been classified pursuant
to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number .

September 3, 1957

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL-REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-387835) (REG)

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-22197)

RE: COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR
MORTON SOBELL
IS - C

CINAL. The newspaper captioned "Morton Sobell, Prisoner on our Conscience" for the month of November 1956 published by the Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL, on page 2 contains an article captioned "Notables Abroad Ask Justice." According to this article the former Minister of Education of Mexico, Dr. LUIS SANCHEZ PONTON, now a Professor of Law at the University of Mexico, has become one of MORTON SOBELL's attorneys. The article continued that Dr. PONTON, an expert on international law, is participating in SOBELL's present appeal from Judge KAUFMAN's refusal to hold a hearing. A photograph of PONTON accompanied the above article.

On August 28, 1957, former [redacted] advised that Dr. LUIS SANCHEZ PONTON is a noted educator and a man who has considerable prestige among the Mexican intellectuals. He gave admission-free lectures frequently in the late 1940's at the "Instituto Cultural Mexicano-Ruso," (Institute of Mexican-Russian Culture) located at Edison #47, Mexico City.

b7D

- 3 - Bureau (100-387835) (REG-AM)
1 - New York (Info) (100-10711) (REG-AM)
2 - Seattle (100-22197)

cc: 100-23538 Sub A

REM:msd

(6)

Henderson
7-21

100-10711-2601
SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED
SEP 5 1957
FBI - NEW YORK
Henderson T.S.P.

SE 100-22197

Source advised that PONTON was said to have been Mexican Ambassador to the Soviet Union for a brief period of approximately 1½ years during the early 1930's, probably under the presidency of ABILARDO RODRIGUEZ EMILIO, or PORTES GIL.

Source advised that PONTON reportedly has participated in many "leftist causes." At the University in Mexico City (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico), he is considered to side with the Communist group concerning university policies and in 1932 supported the student strike there. ~~His lectures dealt mostly with legal and historical topics.~~ He is a defender of the Soviet Union and frequently attacks the United States. Source believes him to be about 60 to 65 years old at the present time.

The source identified the picture of Dr. LUIS SANCHEZ PONTON appearing with the MORTON SOBELL article, as being identical with the Dr. LUIS SANCHEZ PONTON [REDACTED] at the "Instituto Cultural Mexicano - Russo." 57A

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2602 DATE 9/3/57

CONSISTING OF 1 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety,
under (b)(1) as it has been classified pursuant
to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number .

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBELL COMMITTEE

SERIAL 2604 DATE 9/4/57

CONSISTING OF _____ PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety,
under (b)(1) as it has been classified pursuant
to Executive Order 11652 as it contains
information which would disclose an intelligence
source. This serial bears the Classification
Officers number [redacted]

FILE # 100-107111

SUBJECT ROSENBERG/SOBEll COMMITTEE

SERIAL 3605 DATE 9/6/57

CONSISTING OF 1 PAGES

is exempt from disclosure, in its entirety, under (b)(7)(D) as information contained in this serial would identify an informant to whom an expressed promise of confidentiality has been given. This information includes dates and places of meetings which were attended by a limited number of people known to the informant and/or information from these meetings and situations in which an informant was in close contact with members of these organizations, disclosure of which would reveal his identity.

AIRTEL

SIRMAIL

Q4M7

~~SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-387835)
FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (100-4333)
RE: NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE
JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE, NSB.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1940

Rerep of SA CALVIN W. FVANS, dated 8/19/57, at Phoenix, Arizona.

There are transmitted herewith six revised copies each of Pages 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6. In addition, the date of [redacted] for T-1 and T-2, listed in Phoenix letter of 8/17/57 to the Bureau in this case, under the caption "Date of Meeting and/or Activity" should be changed to [redacted]. The revisions made on these pages are typographical changes, not misspellings, which were not apparent at the time the report was submitted. These matters were noted on 9/4/57 upon the return of dictating agent from annual leave. The outside agencies receiving copies of this report have been advised by letter of the changes being made in this report.

CROSBY

b4D

3 - Bureau (100-387835) (Encl. 6)
2 - New York (100-107111) (Encl. 2)
1 - Phoenix (100-4333)
CNE:mde
(6)

100-107111-2606
100-107111-2606
100-107111-2606

SEP 9 1957

Letter to
Phoenix
9/12/57
TJW

Shender

Shender

9/10/57

Air-tel.

Registered

TO SAC, PHOENIX (100-4333)

FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-107111)

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

IS-C

ISA OF 1950

Re Phoenix air-tel to the Director undated,
captioned as above, which furnished corrected pages 1,2,3,4 and
6 to the report of SA CALVIN W. EVANS dated 8/19/57, at
Phoenix, Arizona.

Re airtel listed two copies of above pages as
enclosures to the NYO. Referenced enclosures were not
received by this office. Phoenix will furnish appropriate
copies for the completion of NYO files.

KELLY

2 - Phoenix (100-4333) (RM)

1 - NY 100-107111

PHS:AJD
(4)

1 - Supervisor BERNARD J. CONNELL, 7-2

wm
#7

JAM

100-107111-2607

SAC, NEW YORK (100-107111, Sub A)

9/10/57

SA WILLIAM G. LINEHAN (#19-2)

MISCELLANEOUS SOBELL COMMITTEES
IS-C

ANCIN with [REDACTED] on 7/24/57, furnished SA EDWARD M. [REDACTED] of a [REDACTED] meeting of the Eastside Sobell Committee.

b7d

This announcement is maintained as an exhibit
in NY 100-107111-1B825.

Date Received - 9-13-57
Date Returned - 9-13-57
Report By - 10-20-57

1 - NY [REDACTED] b
① - NY 100-107111 (NCSJMS) (#7-2)
1 - NY 100-107111 SUB G

WFL:pav
(3)

100-107111-2608
JLW : JP
1:3
P.A. 88-001-1 PZ